

Mr. GRAY.



Mr. GRAY.

#### THE

POEMS

OF

MR. G R A Y. (7-)

TO WHICH ARE PREFIXED

MEMOIRS

OF HIS

LIFE AND WRITINGS

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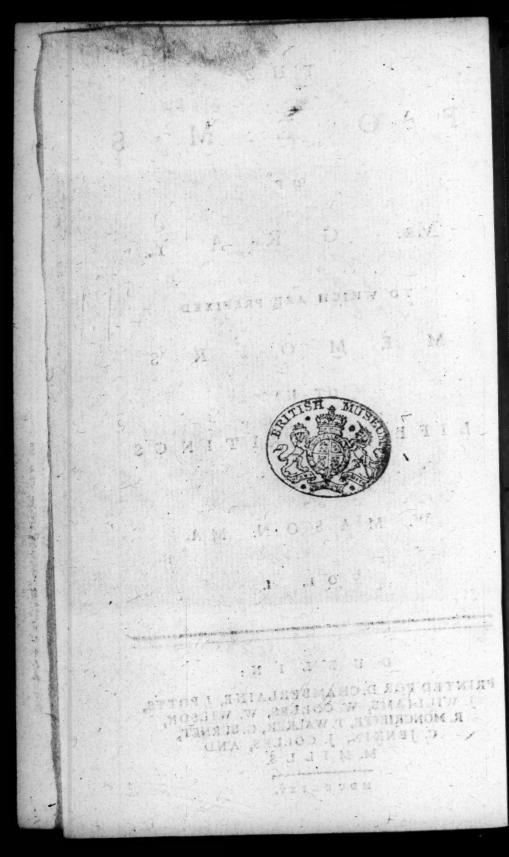
W. MASON, M.A.

VOL. I.

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M. M I L L S.

MDCCLIIV.



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# LIFE AND WRITINGS

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TARR lives of men of letters feldom abound with incidents; and perhaps no life ever afforded fewer than that which I have undertaken to write. But I am far from mentioning this by way of previous apology, as is the trite custom of biographers. The respect which I owe to my deceased friend, to the public, (and let me add) to myfelf, prompts me to wave formpertinent a ceremonial. A reader of fense and tafte never expects to find in the memoirs of a Philosopher, or a Poet, the same species of entertainment, or information, which he would receive from those of a Statesman or General: He expects. however, to be either informed or entertained ! Nor would be be disappointed, did the writer take care to dwell principally on fuch topics as characterize the man, and diffinguish that peculiar part which he Vol. Ich ynoreg of i bo Act of the peroxy and a

acted in the varied Drama of Society. But this rule, felf-evidently right as it may feem, is feldom obferved. It was faid with almost as much truth as wit, of one of these writers, that when he composed the life of Lord Verulam, he forgot that he was a Philosopher; and therefore, it was to be feared, should he finish that of the Duke of Marlborough, he would forget that he was a General. I shall avoid a like fault. I will promife my reader that he shall, in the following pages, feldom behold Mr. Gray in any other light than that of a Scholar and a Poet: And though I am more folicitous to shew that he was a virtuous, a friendly, and an amiable man, than either; yet this folicitude becomes unnecessary from the very papers which he has bequeathed me, and which I here arrange for the purpose : Since in these the qualities of his head and heart fo constantly appear together, and the fertility of his fancy fo intimately unites with the sympathetic tenderness of his foul, that were it in my intention, I should find it impossible to disjoin them, you bon strabioni

His parents were reputable citizens of London. His grandfather, a confiderable merchant: But his father, Mr. Philip Gray, though he also followed but finess, was of an indolent and reserved temper; and therefore rather diminished than increased his parent nal fortune. A He had many children of whom Thomas, the subject of these memoirs, was the fish born. All of them, except him, died in their infancy; and I have been told that he narrowly escaped suffocation, (owing to too great a sulness of blood which destroyed the rest) and would certainly have been cut off as early, had not his mother, with a courage remarkable for one of her sex, and with a sourage remarkable for one of her sex, and with a sourage remarkable for one of her sex, and with a sourage remarkable for one of her sex, and with a sourage remarkable for one of her sex, and with a sourage remarkable for one of her sex, and with a sourage remarkable for one of her sex, and with a sourage remarkable for one of her sex, and with a sourage remarkable for one of her sex, and with a sourage remarkable for one of her sex, and with a sourage remarkable for one of her sex, and with a sourage remarkable for one of her sex, and with a sourage remarkable for one of her sex, and with a sourage remarkable for one of her sex, and with a sourage remarkable for one of her sex, and with a sourage remarkable for one of her sex and with a sourage remarkable for one of her sex, and with a sourage remarkable for one of her sex and with a sourage remarkable for one of her sex and with a sourage remarkable for one of her sex and with a sourage remarkable for one of her sex and with a sourage remarkable for one of her sex and with a sourage remarkable for one of her sex and with a sourage remarkable for one of her sex and with a sourage remarkable for one of her sex and with a sourage remarkable for one of her sex and with a se

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He was born in Cornhill, December the 26th, 1716; was educated at Eton school, under the care of Mr. Antrobus, his mother's brother, who was at that time one of the affiftant mafters. From thence he removed to St. Peter's College, Cambridge, where he was admitted a pensioner in the year 1734. While at school he contracted a friendship with Mr. · Horace Walpole and Mr. Richard West: The former of these appears, at present, with too much distinction in the literary, as well as fashionable world. to make it necessary I should enlarge upon his subject : But as the latter died before he could exert his uncommon abilities, it feems necessary to premise fomewhat concerning him; especially as almost every anecdote which I have to produce, concerning the juvenile part of Mr. Gray's life, is included in his correspondence with this gentleman. A correspondence which continued, with very little interruption. for the space of about eight years, from the time of their leaving school to the death of the accomplished youth in question.

His father was Lord Chancellor of Ireland. His grandfather, by the mother, the famous Bishop Burnet. He removed from Eton to Oxford, about the same time that Mr. Gray lest that place for Cambridge. Each of them carried with him the reputation of an excellent classic scholar; though I have been told that, at the time, Mr. West's genius was reckoned the more brilliant of the two: A judgment which, I conceive, was not well founded; for though Mr. West's part of that correspondence, which I shall speedily give the reader,\* will undoubtedly shew

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<sup>\*</sup> I am well aware that I am here going to do a thing which the cautious and courtly Dr. Sprat (were he now alive) would highly censure. He had, it seems, a large collection

that he possest very extraordinary talents, yet, on Mr. Gray's side, there seems superadded to these, such a manly precision of taste, and maturity of judgment, as would induce one to believe Mr. Walpole's phrase not very hyperbolical, who has often afferted to me that, "Gray never was a Boy."

In April, 1738, Mr. West lest Christ Church for the Inner Temple, and Mr. Gray removed from Peter-House to Town the latter end of that year; intending also to apply himself to the study of the Law in the same society: For which purpose his sather had already either hired or bought him a set of chambers. But on an invitation which Mr. Walpole gave him to be his companion in his travels, this intention was laid aside for the present, and never after put in execution.

lection of his friend Mr. Cowley's letters, "a way of writing in which he peculiarly excelled, as in these he always extension press the native tenderness and innocent gaiety of his heart; yet the Doctor was of opinion that nothing of this nature should be published, and that the letters that pass between particular friends (if they are written as they ought to be) can scarce ever be sit to see the light." What! not when they express the native tenderness and innocent gaiety of a heart like Mr. Cowley's? No, by no means, "for in such letters the souls of men appear undrest, and in that negligent habit they may be sit to be seen by one or two in a chamber, but not to go abroad in the street." See Life of Gowley, page 38, Hard's Edition.

Such readers as believe it incumbent on every well-bred foul never to appear but in full dress, will think that Dr. Sprat has reason on his side; but I suspect that the generality will, notwithstanding, wish he had been less scrupulously delicate, and lament that the letters in question are not now extant. Of one thing I am fully consident that, had this been the case, the judicious Dr. Hurd would have found his critical labour much lessened, when, in pure charity to this amiable writer, he lately employed himself in separating

His pleasing moral from his pointed wit.

According to the plan which I have formed for arranging these papers, a part of the letters which I have already mentioned will here find their proper place. They will give a much clearer idea both of Mr. Gray and his friend, at this early period, than any narrative of mine. They will include also several specimens of their juvenile compositions, and, at the fame time, mark the progress they had made in literature. They will ascertain, not only the scope and turn of their genius, but of their temper. In a word, Mr. Gray will become his own biographer, both in this and the rest of the sections into which I divide this work. By which means, and by the affiftance of a few notes which I shall occasionally add, it may be hoped that nothing will be omitted which may tend to give a regular and clear delineation of his life and character.

But as this is the earliest part of their correspondence, and includes only the time which paffed between Mr. Gray's admission into the university and his going abroad, it may be reasonably expected that the manner rather than the matter of thefe letters must constitute their principal merit; they will therefore be chiefly acceptable to fuch ingenuous youths, who being about the same age, have a relish for the fame studies, and bosoms susceptible of the fame warmth of friendship. To these I address them; in the pleasing hope that they may prompt them to emulate their elegant simplicity, and, of courfe, to fludy with more care the classic models from which it was derived. If they do this, I shall not be much concerned if graver readers think them unimportant or even trifling.

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#### LETTER I.

#### Mr. WEST to Mr. GRAY.

YOU use me very cruelly: you have sent me but one letter since I have been at Oxford, and that too agreeable not to make me sensible how great my loss is in not having more. Next to seeing you is the pleasure of seeing your hand-writing; next to hearing you is the pleasure of hearing from you. Really and sincerely I wonder at you, that you thought it not worth while to answer my last letter. I hope this will have better success in behalf of your quondam school-sellow; in behalf of one who has walked hand in hand with you, like the two children in the wood,

Through many a flowery path and shelly grot, Where learning sull'd us in her private \* maze.

The very thought, you see, tips my pen with poetry, and brings Eton to my view. Consider me very seriously here in a strange country, inhabited by things that call themselves Doctors and Masters of Arts; a country flowing with syllogisms and ale, where Horace and Virgil are equally unknown; consider me, I say, in this melancholy light, and then think if something be not due to Your's.

Christ Church, Nov. 14, 1735.

P. S. I desire you will send me soon, and truly and positively, † a history of your own time.

† Alluding to his grandfather's history.

<sup>\*</sup> This expression prettily distinguishes their studies when out of the public school, which would naturally, at their age, be vague and desultory.

# I can also face you that of the reformation.\* How.

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#### Mr. GRAY to Mr. WEST.

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DERMIT me again to write to you, though I have fo long neglected my duty, and forgive my brevity, when I tell you it is occasioned wholly by the hurry I am in to get to a place where I expect to meet with no other pleasure than the fight of you : for I am preparing for London in a few days at furthest. I do not wonder in the least at your frequent blaming my indofence, it ought rather to be called ingratitude, and I am obliged to your goodness for fostening so harsh an appellation. When we meet it will, however, be my greatest of pleasures to know what you do, what you read, and how you fpend your time, &c. &c. and to tell you what I do not read, and how I do not, &c. for almost all the employment of my hours may be best explained by negatives; take my word and experience upon it, doing nothing is a most amusing business; and yet neither fomething nor nothing gives me any pleafure. When you have feen one of my days, you have feen a whole year of my life; they go round and round like the blind horse in the mill, only he has the fatisfaction of fancying he makes a progress, and gets fome ground; my eyes are open enough to fee the fame dull prospect, and to know that having made four-and-twenty steps more, I shall be just where I was; I may, better than most people, fay my life is but a span, were I not afraid lest you fhould not believe that a person so short-lived could write even so long a letter as this; in short, I believe I must not fend you the history of my own time, till

I can also send you that of the reformation.\* However, as the most undeserving people in the world must fure have the vanity to wish somebody had a regard for them, so I need not wonder at my own, in being pleased that you care about me. You need not doubt, therefore, of having a first row in the front box of my little heart, and I believe you are not in danger of being crouded there; it is asking you to an old play, indeed, but you will be candid enough to excuse the whole piece for the sake of a few tolerable lines.

For this little while past I have been playing with Statius; we yesterday had a game at quoits together; you will easily forgive me for having broke his head, as you have a little pique to him. I fend you my translation t, which I did not engage in because I liked that part of the Poem, nor do I now send it to you because I think it deserves it, but merely to you how I mispend my days.

Third in the labours of the Disc came on, With sturdy step and slow, Hippomedon; Artful and strong he pois'd the well-known weight, By Phlegyas warn'd, and sir'd by Mnessheus' fate, That to avoid, and this to emulate.

\* Carrying on the allufion to the other history written by Mr. West's grandfather.

†This consisted of about a rolines, which were sent separately, and as I believe it was Mr. Gray's first attempt in English verse, it is a curiosity not to be entirely withheld from the reader; therefore, although it is not my intention to fill these memoirs with much either of his or his correspondent's productions in this way, yet as a few lines will show how much Mr. Gray had imbibed of Dryden's spirited manner, at this early period, I insert at the end of the letter a specimen of the whole.

His vigorous arm he try'd before he flung, Brac'd all his nerves, and every finew firung; Then with a tempest's whirl and wary eye, Pursu'd his cast, and hurl'd the orb on high; The orb on high tenacious of its course, True to the mighty arm that gave it force, Far overleaps all bound, and joys to fee Its ancient lord secure of victory. The theatre's green height and woody wall Tremble ere it precipitates its fall, The ponderous mass sinks in the cleaving ground, While vales and woods and echoing hills rebound, As when from Ætna's smoking summit broke, The eyeless Cyclops heav'd the craggy rock; Where Ocean frets beneath the dashing oar : And parting furges round the veffel roar; 'Twas there he aim'd the meditated harm, And scarce Ulysses scap'd his giant arm. A tyger's pride the victor bore away, With native spots and artful labour gay, A shining border round the margin roll'd, And calm'd the terrors of his claws in gold.

Cambridge, May 8, 1736.

# LETTER III.

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#### Mr. WEST to Mr. GRAY.

I Agree with you that you have broke Statius's head, but it is in like manner as Apollo broke Hyacinth's, you have foiled him infinitely at his own weapon; I must insist on seeing the rest of your translation, and then I will examine it entire, and compare it with the Latin, and be very wise and

A 5

fevere, and put on an inflexible face, such as becomes the character of a true son of Aristarchus, of hyper-critical memory. In the mean while,

And calm'd the terrors of his claws in gold, Is exactly Statius-Summos auro mansueverat ungues. I never knew before that the golden fangs on hammercloths were so old a fashion. Your Hymeneal \* I was told was the best in the Cambridge Collection before I saw it, and, indeed, it is no great compliment to tell you I thought it fo when I had seen it, but sincerely it pleased me best. Methinks the college bards have run into a strange taste on this occasion. Such fost unmeaning stuff about Venus and Cupid, and Peleus and Thetis, and Zephyrs and Dryads, was never read. As for my poor little Eclogue it has been condemned and beheaded by our Westminster judges; an exordium of about fixteen lines absolutely cut off, and its other limbs quartered in a most barbarous manner. I will fend it you in my next as my true and lawful heir, in exclusion of the pretender, who has the impudence, to appear under my name.

As yet I have not looked into Sir Isaac. Public disputations I hate; mathematics I reverence; history, morality, and natural philosophy have the greatest charms in my eye; but who can forget poe-

<sup>\*</sup> Published in the Cambridge collection of verses on the Prince of Wales's marriage. I have not thought it necessary to insert these hexameters, as adulatory verses of this kind, however well written, deserve not to be transmitted to posterity; and, indeed, are usually buried, as they ought to be, in the trash with which they are surrounded. Every person, who feels himself a poet, ought to be above prosituting his powers on such occasions, and extreme youth (as was the case with Mr. Gray) is the only thing that can apologize for having done it.

try? they call it idleness, but it is surely the most enchanting thing in the world, "ac dulce otium & poene omni negotio pulchrius."

I am, dear Sir, yours while I am Christ Church, May 24, 1736. R. W.

The following letter feems to require some little preface, not so much because it expresses Mr. Gray's juvenile fentiments concerning the mode of our academical education, as that thefo fentiments prevailed with him through life, and that he often declared them, with fo little referve, as to create him many enemies. It is certain that at the time when he was admitted, and for some years after, Jacobitism, and its concomitant hard drinking, prevailed still at Cambridge, much to the prejudice not only of good manners but of good letters; for, if this spirit was then on the decline, it was not extinguished till after the year 1745. But we fee (as was natural enough in a young man) he laid the blame rather on the mode of education than the mode of the times; and to this error, the uncommon proficiency he had made at Eton in classical learning might contribute, as he found himself in a situation where that species of merit held not the first rank. However this be, it was necessary not to omit this feature of his mind, when employed in drawing a general likeness of it, and what colours could be found fo forcible as his own to express its true light and shadow? I would further observe, that whatever truth there might be in his fatire at the time it was written, it can by no means affect the present state of the university. There is usually a much greater fluctuation of taste and manners in an academical, than a national body; occasioned (to use a scholastic metaphor) by that

that very quick succession of its component parts, which often goes near to destroy its personal identity. Whatever therefore may be true of such a society at one time, may be, and generally is, ten years after absolutely false.

## LETTER IV.

Mr. GRAY to Mr. WEST.

TOU must know that I do not take degrees, and I after this term, shall have nothing more of college impertinencies to undergo, which I trust will be some pleasure to you, as it is a great one to me. I have endured lectures daily and hourly fince I came laft, supported by the hopes of being shortly at full liberty to give myfelf up to my friends and classical companions, who, poor fouls! though I fee them fallen into great contempt with most people here, yet I cannot help flicking to them, and out of a spirit of obstinacy (I think) love them the better for it; and indeed, what can I do else? Must I plunge into metaphyfics? Alas, I cannot fee in the dark; nature has not furnished me with the optics of a cat. Must I pore upon mathematics? Alas, I cannot fee in too much light; I am no eagle. It is very possible that two and two make four, but I would not give four farthings to demonstrate this ever so clearly; and if these be the profits of life give me the amusements of it. The people I behold all around me, it feems, know all this and more, and yet I do not know one of them who infpires me with any ambition of being like him. Surely it was of this place, now Cambridge, but formerly known by the name of Babylon, that the prophet

prophet spoke when he said, "the wild beasts of the desart shall dwell there, and their houses shall be full of doleful creatures, and owls shall build there, and satyrs shall dance there; their forts and towers shall be a den for ever, a joy of wild affes; there shall the great owl make her nest, and say and hatch and gather under her shadow; it shall be a court of dragons; the screech owl also shall rest there, and find for herself a place of shall rest there, and find for herself a place of rest." You see here is a pretty collection of desolate animals, which is verified in this town to a tittle, and perhaps it may also allude to your habitation, for you know all types may be taken by abundance of handles; however, I defy your owls to match mine.

If the default of your spirits and nerves be nothing but the effect of the hyp, I have no more to say. We all must submit to that wayward Queen, I too in no small degree own her sway,

I feel her influence while I speak her power. But if it be a real distemper, pray take more care of your health, if not for your own at least for our sakes, and do not be so soon weary of this little world: I do not know what \* refined friendships you may have contracted in the other, but pray do not be in a hurry to see your acquaintance above; among your terrestrial familiars, however, though I say it that should not say it, there positively is not one that has a greater esteem for you than

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KILL O

Peterhouse, Dec. 1736. Yours most fincerely, &c.

<sup>\*</sup> This thought is very juvenile, but perhaps he meant to ridicule the affected manner of Mrs. Rowe's letters of the dead to the living; a book which was, I believe, published about this time.

# LETTER V.

# Mr. WEST to Mr. GRAY.

I Congratulate you on your being about to leave L college,\* and rejoice much you carry no degrees with you. For I would not have had you dignified, and I not, for the world, you would have infulted me fo. My eyes, fuch as they are, like yours, are neither metaphysical nor mathematical; I have, nevertheles, a great respect for your connoisseurs that way, but am always contented to be their humble admirer. Your collection of desolate animals pleased me much; but Oxford, I can assure you, has her owls, that match yours, and the prophecy has certainly a fquint that way. Well, you are leaving this difinal land of bondage, and which way are you turning your face? Your friends, indeed, may be happy in you, but what will you do with your classic companions? An inn of court is as horrid a place as a college, and a moot case is as dear to gentle dullness as a syllogism. But wherever you go, let me beg you not to throw poetry "like a nauseous weed away:" Cherish its sweets in your bosom, they will ferve you now and then to correct the disgusting sober follies of the common law, misce stultitiam confiliis brevem, dulce est desipere in loco; fo faid Horace to Virgil, those two fons of Anac in poetry, and so say I to you, in this degenerate land of pigmies.

<sup>\*</sup> I suspect that Mr. West mistook his correspondent; who, in saying he did not take degrees, meant only to let his friend know that he should soon be released from lectures and disputations. It is certain that Mr. Gray continued at college near two years after the time he wrote the preceding letter.

Mix with your grave designs a little pleasure, Each day of business has its hour of leisure. In one of these hours I hope, dear sir, you will sometimes think of me, write to me, and know me

yours,

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r.

Ezausa, un neude vow, iva eisoner auow. that is, write freely to me and openly, as I do to you, and to give you a proof of it I have fent you an elegy \* of Tibullus translated. Tibullus, you must know, is my favourite elegiac poet; for his language is more elegant and his thoughts more natural than Ovid's. Ovid excels him only in wit, of which no poet had more in my opinion. The reafon I choose so melancholy a kind of poefy, is because my low spirits and constant ill health (things in me not imaginary, as you furmife, but too real, alas! and, I fear, conftitutional) " have tuned my heart to elegies of woe;" and this likewise is the reason why I am the most irregular thing alive at college, for you may depend upon it I value my health above what they call discipline. As for this poor unlicked thing of an elegy, pray criticife it unmercifully, for I fend it with that intent. Indeed your late translation of Statius might have deterred me, but I know you are not more able to excel others. than you are apt to forgive the want of excellence, especially when it is found in the productions of Your most fincere triend.

Christ Church, Dec. 22, 1736.

LET-

<sup>\*</sup> This I omit for the reason given in a preceding note, and for another also, because it is not written in alternate but heroic rhyme; which I think is not the species of English measure adapted to elegiac poetry.

# LETTER-VI.

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# Mr. GRAY to Mr. WALPOLE.

YOU can never weary me with the repetition of any thing that makes me sensible of your kindness; since that has been the only idea of any social happiness that I have almost ever received, and which (begging your pardon for thinking so differently from you in such cases) I would by no means have parted with for an exemption from all the uneasinesses mixed with it: But it would be unjust to imagine my taste was any rule for yours; for which reason my letters are shorter and less frequent than they would be, had I any materials but myself to entertain you with. Love and brown sugar must be a poor regale for one of your goût, and, alas! you know I am by trade a grocer.† Scandal (if I had any) is a merchandize you do not profess dealing in;

† i. e. A man who deals only in coarse and ordinary wares, to these he compares the plain sincerity of his own friendship, undisguised by flattery; which, had he chosen to carry on the allusion, he might have termed the trade of a Confectioner.

<sup>\*</sup> Mr. Walpole, on my informing him that it was my intention to publish the principal part of Mr. Gray's correspondence with Mr. West, very obligingly communicated to me the letters which he had also received from Mr. Gray at the same period. From this collection I have selected such as I thought would be most likely to please the generality of readers; omitting, though with regret, many of the more sprightly and humourous sort, because either from their personality, or some other local circumstance, they did not seem so well adapted to hit the public taste. I shall say more upon this subject in a subsequent section, when I give my idea of Mr. Gray's peculiar vein of humour.

now and then, indeed, and to oblige a friend, you may perhaps slip a little out of your pocket, as a decaved gentlewoman would a piece of right mecklin. or a little quantity of run tea, but this only now and then, not to make a practice of it. Monsters appertaining to this climate you have feen already, both wet and dry. So you perceive within how narrow bounds my pen is circumscribed, and the whole contents of my share in our correspondence may be reduced under the two heads of the 1st, You, 2dly I; the first is, indeed, a subject to expatiate upon, but you might laugh at me for talking about what I do not understand; the second is so tiny, fo tiresome, that you shall hear no more of it than that it is ever at it is ever Peterbouse, Dec. 23, 1736.

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# in the LETTER VII.

#### or fiver bled the finishing of my days Mr. WEST to Mr GRAY.

ath must from me her coly terms due

Have been very ill, and am still hardly recover-1 ed. Do you remember Elegy 5th, Book the 3d, of Tibullus, Vos tenet, &c. and do you remember a letter of Mr. Pope's, in sickness, to Mr. Steele? This melancholy elegy and this melancholy letter I turned into a more melancholy epiftle of my own, during my fickness, in the way of imitation; and this I fend to you and my friends at Cambridge not to divert them, for it cannot, but merely to show them how fincere I was when fick: I hope my fending it to them now may convince them I am no less fincere, though perhaps more fimple, when well,

## ADAMICOS.\*, mail bea w

Yes, happy youths, on Camus' fedgy fide, You feel each joy that friendship can divide; Each realm of science and of art explore, And with the antient blend the modern lore. Studious alone to learn whate'er may tend To raise the genius or the heart to mend; Now pleas'd along the cloyfter'd walk you rove, And trace the verdant mazes of the grove, Where focial oft, and oft alone, ye chuse To catch the zephyr and to court the muse. Mean time at me (while all devoid of art These lines give back the image of my heart) At me the pow'r that comes or foon or late, Or aims, or feems to aim, the dart of fate; From you remote, methinks, alone I stand Like some sad exile in a desert land : Around no friends their lenient care to join In mutual warmth, and mix their heart with mine. Or real pains, or those which fancy raise, For ever blot the funshine of my days; To sickness still, and still to grief a prey, Health turns from me her rosy face away.

Just heav'n! what sin, ere life begins to bloom, Devotes my head untimely to the tomb; Did e'er this hand against a brother's life. Drug the dire bowl or point the murd'rous knife? Did e'er this tongue the slanderer's tale proclaim, Or madly violate my Maker's name? Did e'er this heart betray a friend or foe, Or know a thought but all the world might know?

ar

<sup>\*</sup> Almost all Tibullus's elegy is imitated in this little piece, from whence his transition to Mr. Pope's letter is very artfully contrived, and bespeaks a degree of judgment much beyond Mr. West's years.

As yet just started from the lists of time. My growing years have scarcely told their prime; Useless, as yet, through life I've idly run, No pleasures tasted, and few duties done. \* Ah, who, ere autumn's mellowing funs appear, Would pluck the promise of the vernal year; Or, ere the grapes their purple hue betray, Tear the crude cluster from the mourning spray? Stern Power of Fate, whose ebon sceptre rules The Stygian deferts and Cimmerian pools, Forbear, nor rashly smite my youthful heart, A victim yet unworthy of thy dart; Ah, flay till age shall blast my withering face, Shake in my head, and falter in my pace; Then aim the shaft, then meditate the blow, + And to the dead my willing shade shall go.

How weak is Man to Reason's judging eye!
Born in this moment, in the next we die;
Part mortal clay, and part ethereal fire,
Too proud to creep, too humble to aspire.
In vain our plans of happiness we raise,
Pain is our lot, and patience is our praise;
Wealth, lineage, honours, conquest, or a throne,
Are what the wise would fear to call their own.
Health is at best a vain precarious thing,
And fair-fac'd youth is ever on the wing;

† Here he quits Tibullus; the ten following verses have but a remote reference to Mr. Pope's letter.

ce,

be-

As

<sup>\*</sup> Quid fraudare juvat vitem crescentibus uvis?

Et modo nata mala vellere poma manu?

So the original. The paraphrase seems to me infinitely more beautiful. There is a peculiar blemish in the second line, arising from the synonimes mala and poma.

\* 'Tis like the stream, aside whose wat'ry bed Some blooming plant exalts his slow'ry head, Nurs'd by the wave the spreading branches rise, Shade all the ground and slourish to the skies; The waves the while beneath in secret flow, And undermine the hollow bank below; Wide and more wide the waters urge their way, Bare all the roots and on their sibres prey. Too late the plant bewails his foolish pride, And sinks, untimely, in the whelming tide.

But why repine! does life deserve my sigh?
Few will lament my loss where'er I die.
† For those the wretches I despise or hate,
I neither envy nor regard their sate.
For me, whene'er all-conquering Death shall spread His wings around my unrepining head,
‡ I care not; though this sace be seen no more,
The world will pass as cheerful as before,

Bright

Nor

† "I am not at all uneasy at the thought that many men, "whom I never had any esteem for, are likely to enjoy this "world after me." Vide ibid.

I "The morning after my exit the sun will rise as bright as ever, the flowers smell as sweet, the plants spring as green;" so far Mr. West copies his original, but instead of the following part of the sentence "People will laugh as heartily, and marry as fast as they used to do," he inserts a more solemn idea,

<sup>\*&</sup>quot;Youth, at the very best, is but the betrayer of human is life in a gentler and smoother manner than age; it is like the stream that nourishes a plant upon a bank, and causes it to shourish and blossom to the sight, but at the same time is undermining it at the root in secret." Pope's Works, vol. 7, page 254, 1st edit. Warburton.—Mr. West, by prolonging his paraphrase of this simile, gives it additional beauty from that very circumstance, but he ought to have introduced it by Mr. Pope's own thought, "Youth is a betrayer;" his couplet preceding the simile conveys too general a restection.

Bright as before the day-star will appear,
The fields as verdant, and the skies as clear:
Nor storms nor comets will my doom declare,
Nor signs on earth, nor portents in the air;
Unknown and silent will depart my breath,
Nor Nature e'er take notice of my death.
Yet some there are (ere spent my vital days)
Within whose breasts my tomb I wish to raise.
Lov'd in my life, lamented in my end,
Their praise would crown me as their precepts.
mend;

To them may these fond lines my name endear,
Not from the Poet but the Friend sincere.

Christ Church, July 4, 1737.

# LETTER VIII.

### Mr. GRAY to Mr. WEST.

A FTER a month's expectation of you, and a fortnight's despair, at Cambridge, I am come to town, and to better hopes of seeing you. If what you sent me last be the product of your melancholy, what may I not expect from your more cheerful hours? For by this time the ill health that you complain of is (I hope) quite departed; though, if I were self-interested, I ought to wish for the continuance of any thing that could be the occasion of so much pleasure to me. Low spirits are my true:

Nor storms nor comets, &c. justly perceiving that the elegiac turn of his epistle would not admit so ludicrous a thought, as was in its place in Mr. Pope's familiar letter; so that we see, young as he was, he had obtained the art of judiciously selecting, one of the first provinces of good taste.

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or

and faithful companions; they get up with me, go to bed with me, make journeys and returns as I do: nay, and pay visits, and will even affect to be jocose, and force a feeble laugh with me; but most commonly we fit alone together, and are the prettieft infipid company in the world. However, when you come, I believe they must undergo the fate of all humble companions, and be discarded. Would I could turn them to the fame use that you have done, and make an Apollo of them. If they could write fuch verses with me, not hartshorn, nor spirit of amber, nor all that furnishes the closet of an apothecary's widow, should persuade me to part with them: But, while I write to you, I hear the bad news of Lady Walpole's death on Saturday night last. Forgive me if the thought of what my poor Horace must feel on that account, obliges me to have done in reminding you that I am

London, Aug. 22, 1737. Yours, &c.

### LETTER IX.

## Mr. GRAY to Mr. WALPOLE.

Was hindered in my last, and so could not give I you all the trouble I would have done. The description of a road, which your coach wheels have fo often honoured, it would be needless to give you; fuffice it that I arrived fafe \* at my Uncle's, who is a great hunter in imagination; his dogs take up every chair in the house, so I am forced to stand at this present writing; and though the gout forbids him galloping after them in the field, yet he conti-Antibolis vitacio

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<sup>\*</sup> At Burnham in Buckinghamshire.

nues still to regale his ears and nofe with their comfortable noise and stink. He holds me mighty cheap. I perceive, for walking when I should ride, and reading when I should hunt. My comfort amidst all this is, that I have at the distance of half a mile, through a green lane, a forest (the vulgar call it a common) all my own, at least as good as so, for I fpy no human thing in it but myfelf. It is a little chaos of mountains and precipices; mountains, it is true, that do not afcend much above the clouds, nor are the declivities quite fo amazing as Dover cliff : but just such hills as people who love their necks as well as I do may venture to climb, and craggs that give the eye as, much pleasure as if they were more dangerous: Both vale and hill are covered with most venerable beeches, and other very reverend vegetables, that, like most other antient people, are always dreaming out their old ftories to the winds,

At the foot of one of these squats me I, (II penseroso) and there grow to the trunk for a whole morning. The timorous hare and sportive squirrel gambol around me like Adam in Paradise, before he had an Eve; but I think he did not use to read Virgil, as I commonly do there. In this situation I often converse with my Horace, aloud too, that is talk to you, but I do not remember that I ever heard you answer me I beg pardon for taking all the conversation to myself, but it is entirely your own fault. We have old Mr. Southern at a Gentleman's house a little way off, who often comes to see us; he is now

feventy-

feventy-seven years old, \* and has almost wholly lost his memory; but is as agreeable as an old man can be, at least I persuade myself so when I look at him, and think of Isabella and Orooneko. I shall be in Town in about three weeks. Adieu.

September, 1737

### LETTER X.

# Mr. GRAY to Mr. WALPOLE.

I Sympathize with you in the sufferings which you foresee are coming upon you. We are both at present, I imagine, in no very agreeable situation; for my part I am under the missortune of having nothing to do, but it is a missortune which thank my stars, I can pretty well bear. You are in a consusion of wine, and roaring, and hunting, and tobacco, and, heaven be praised, you too can pretty well bear it; while our evils are no more I believe we shall not much repine. I imagine, however, you will rather choose to converse with the living dead, that adorn the walls of your apartments, than with the dead living, that deck the middles of them; and preser a picture of still life to the realities of a noisy one, and, as I guess, will imitate

\* He lived nine years longer, and died at the age of eightyfix. Mr. Gray always thought highly of his pathetic powers, at the fame time that he blamed his ill tafte for mixing them fo injudiciously with farce, in order to produce that monstrous species of composition called Tragi-comedy.

+ At this time with his father at Houghton. Mr. Gray writes from the fame place he did before, from his Uncle's

house in Buckinghamshire. A to a walter 3 all blo even

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tahwayoff, who often comes to fee us; he is now

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what you prefer, and for an hour or two at noon will flick yourself up as formal as if you had been fixed in your frame for these hundted years, with a pink or rose in one hand, and a great seal ring on the other. Your name, I affure you, has been propagated in these countries by a convert of yours, one \*\*, he has brought over his whole family to you; they were before pretty good Whigs, but now they are absolute Walpolians. We have hardly any body in the parish but knows exactly the dimensions of the hall and faloon at Houghton, and begin to believe that the \* lanthorn is not fo great a consumer of the fat of the land as disaffected persons have said : For your reputation, we keep to ourfelves your not hunting nor drinking hogan, either of which here would be sufficient to lay your honour in the dust. Tomorrow fe'nnight I hope to be in Town, and not long after at Cambridge.

Burnham, Sept. 1737.

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### LETTER XI.

Mr. WEST to Mr. GRAY.

RECEIVING no answer to my last letter, which I writ above a month ago, I must own I am a little uneasy. The slight shadow of you which I had in town, has only served to endear you to me the more. The moments I past with you made a strong impression upon me. I singled you out for a friend, and I would have you know me to be yours, if you deem me worthy.—Alas, Gray, you cannot imagine how miserable my time passes away. My

VOL. I.

B

health

<sup>\*</sup> A favourite object of Tory fatire at the time.

health and nerves and spirits are, thank my stars, the very worst, I think, in Oxford. Four-and-twenty hours of pure unalloy'd health together, are as unknown to me as the 400,000 characters in the Chinese vocabulary. One of my complaints has of late been so over-civil as to visit me regularly once a month—jam certus conviva. This is a painful nervous head-ach, which perhaps you have sometimes heard me speak of before. Give me leave to say, I find no physic comparable to your letters. If, as it is said in Ecclesiasticus, "Friendship be the physic of the mind," prescribe to me, dear Gray, as often and as much as you think proper, I shall be a most obedient patient.

Non ego Fidis irascar medicis, offendar amicis.

I venture here to write you down a Greek epigram,\* which I lately turned into Latin, and hope you will excuse it.

Perspicui puerum sudentem in margine rivi Immersit vitreæ limpidus error aquæ: At gelido ut mater moribundum e slumine traxit Credula, & amplexu sunus inane sovet; Paulatim puer in dilecto pectore, somno Languidus, æternum lumina composuit.

\* Of Posidippus. Vide Anthologia, H. Stephan. p. 220. Mr Gray in his MS. notes to this edition of the Anthologia (of which I shall give an account in a subsequent section) interts this translation, and adds "Descriptio pulcherrima" & quæ tenuem illum græcorum spiritum mirisice sapit; and in conclusion, "Posidippus inter principes Anthologia poetas emicat, Ptolemæi Philadelphi seculo vixit."

Adieu! I am going to my tutor's lectures on one Puffendorff, a very jurisprudent author as you shall read on a summer's day.

Believe me yours, &c.

Christ Church, Dec. 2, 1738.

#### LETTER XII.

## Mr. GRAY to Mr. WEST.

IT, ERAS, mi Favonî!\* abs te demum nudiustertiùs, credo, accepi planè mellitas, nisi fortè quà de ægritudine quâdam tuâ dictum: atque hoc sane mihi habitum est non paulò acerbiùs, quod te capitis morbo implicitum esse intellexi; oh morbum mihi quam odiosum! qui de industria id agit, ut ego in singulos menses, dii boni, quantis jucunditatibus orbarer! quam ex animo mihi dolendum est, quod

Medio de fonte leporum

Surgit amari aliquid.

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Salutem mehercule, nolo, tam parvipendas, atq; amici, tain improbè consulas: quanquam tute fortassis—æstuas angusto limite mundi, viamq; (ut dicitur) assectas Olympo, nos tamen non esse tam sublimes, utpote qui hisce in sordibus & sæce diutius paululum versari volumus, reminiscendum est: illætuæ Musæ, si te ament modo, derelinqui paulisper non nimisægrè patientur: indulge, amabo te, plusquam soles, corporis exercitationibus: magis te campus habeat, aprico magis te dedas otio, ut ne id in-

<sup>\*</sup> Mr. Gray in all his Latin compositions, address to this Gentleman, calls him Favonius, in allusion to the name of West.

genium quod tam cultum curas, diligenter nimis dum foves, officiosarum matrum ritu, interimas. Vide quæso, quam ἐατριχῶς tecum agimus, ἢδ ἐπίθήσω

Φάρμακ ἀ κεν πάυσησι μεκαίναων 'σθυνάων.

si de his pharmacis non satis liquet; sunt sestivitates meræ, sunt sacetiæ & risus; quos ego equidem si adhibere nequeo, tamen ad præcipiendum (ut medicorum sere mos est) certè satis sim; id, quod poeticè sub sinem epistolæ lussis, mini gratissmum quidem accidit; admodum latinè coctum & conditum tetrasticon, græcam tamen illam ἀρελείων mirisicè sapit: tu quod restat, vide, sodes, hujusce homines ignorantiam; cum, unde hoc tibi sit depromptum, (ut satear) prorsus nescio: sane ego equidem nihil in capsis reperio quo tibi minimæ partis solutio siat. Vale, & me ut soles, ama.

A. D. 11 Kalend, Februar.

# LETTER XIII.\*

# Mr. WEST to Mr. GRAY.

Ought to answer you in Latin, but I feel I dare not enter the lists with you—cupidum, pater optime, vires deficient. Seriously you write in that language with a grace and an Augustan urbanity that amazes me: Your Greek too is perfect in its kind. And here let me wonder that a man, longè

<sup>\*</sup> This was written in French, but as I doubted whether it would stand the test of polite criticism so well as the preceding would of learned, I chose to translate so much of it as I thought necessary, in order to preserve the chain of correspondences

græcorum doctiffimus, should be at a loss for the verse and chapter whence my epigram is taken. I am forry I have not my Aldus with me that I might fatisfy your curiofity; but he with all my other literary folks are left at Oxford, and therefore you must fill rest in suspence. I thank you again and again for your medical prescription. I know very well that those "rifus festivitates & facetiæ" would contribute greatly to my cure, but then you must be my apothecary as well as physician, and make up the dose as well as direct it; fend me, therefore, an electuary of these drugs, made up secundum artem, "et eris mihi magnus Apollo," in both his capacities as a god of poets and god of phylicians. With me joy of leaving my college, and leave yours as fast as you can: I thall be fertied at the Temple very foon. in to Victoria Such the November of the

Dartmouth-Areet, Feb. 21, 1737-8.

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### LETTER XIV.

Mr. GRAY to Mr. WEST.

\* BARBARAS ædes aditure mecum
Quas Eris semper sovet inquieta,
Lis ubi latè sonat, et togatum
Æstuat agmen !

\* I choose to call this delicate Sapphic Ode the first original production of Mr. Gray's muse; for verses imposed either by schoolmasters or tutors ought not, I think, to be taken into the consideration. There is seldom a verse that slows well from the pen of a real Poet if it does not flow voluntarily.

B 3

Dulcius

Dulcius quanto, patulis sub ulmi Hospitæ ramis temerè jacentem Sic libris horas, tenuiq; inertes Fallere Musa?

Sæpe enim curis vagor expeditâ

Mente; dum, blandam meditans Camænam,
Vix malo rori, meminive feræ

Cedere nocti:

Et, pedes quò me rapiunt, in omni Colle Parnassum videor videre Fertilem sylvæ, gelidamq; in omni Fonte Aganippen.

Risit & Ver me, facilesq; Nymphæ Nare captantem, nec ineleganti, Manè quicquid de violis eundo Surripit aura:

Me reclinatum teneram per herbam; Quà leves cursus aqua cunque ducit, Et moras dulci strepitu lapillo Nectit in omni.

Hæ novo nostrum ferè p ectus anno Simplicis curæ tenuere, cælum Quamdiù sudum explicuit Favonî Purior hora:

Otia et campos nec adhuc relinquo, Nec magis Phœbo Clytie fidelis; (Ingruant venti licet, et senescat Mollior æstas.)

Namque,

Namque, seu, lætos hominum labores Prataq; & montes recreante curru, Purpurâ tractus oriens Eoos Vestit, et auro;

Sedulus servo veneratus orbem Prodigum splendoris: amæniori Sive dilectam meditatur igne Pingere Calpen;

Usque dum, fulgore magis magis jam Languido circum, variata nubes Labitur furtim, viridisq; in umbras Scena recessit.

O ego felix, vice si (nec unquam Surgerem rursus) simili cadentem Parca me lenis sineret quieto Fallere Letho s

Multà flagranti radiisq; cincto
Integris ah! quam nihil inviderem,
Cum Dei ardentes medius quadrigas
Sentit Olympus?

Ohe! amicule noster, et unde, sodes tu μεσοπάτακτος adeò repente evasisti? jam te rogitaturum credo. Neschio hercle, sic planè habet. Quicquid enim nugarum ἐπὶ σχολῆς inter ambulandum in palimpsesto scriptitavi, hisce te maxumè impertiri visum est, quippe quem probare, quod meum est, aut certè ignoscere solitum probè novi: bonâ tuâ veniâ sit si sortè videar in sine subtristior; nam risui jamjudum B 4 salutem

falutem dixi; etiam paulo moestitiæ studiosiorem factum scias, promptumque, Kaivois madaia δακρύοις σένειν κακά.

> O lachrymarum fons, tenero facros Ducentium ortus ex animo; quater Felix! in imo qui scatentem Pectore te, pia Nympha, sensit.

Sed de me fatis. Cura ut valeas.

Jun. 1738.

### LETTER XV.

### Mr. WEST to Mr. GRAY.

Return you a thousand thanks for your elegant ode, and wish you every joy you wish yourself in it. But take my word for it, you will never fpend fo agreeable a day here as you describe; alas! the fun with us only rifes to few us the way to Westminster-Hall. Nor must I forget thanking you for your little Alcaic fragment. The optic Naiads are infinitely obliged to you.

I was last week at Richmond Lodge, with Mr. Walpole, for two days, and dined with \* Cardinal Fleury; as far as my short light can go, the character of his great art and penetration is very just, he

is indeed

Nulli penetrabilis aftro.

<sup>\*</sup> Sir Robert Walpole.

I go to-morrow to Epfom, where I shall be for about a month. Excuse me, I am in haste \*, but believe me always, &c.

August 29, 1738.

### LETTER XVI.

Mr. GRAY to Mr. WALPOLE.

MY dear Sir, I should say + Mr. Inspector General of the Exports and Imports; but that appellation would make but an odd figure in conjunction with the three familiar monofyllables above written, for

Non bene conveniunt nec in una fede morantur

Majestas & amor.

Which is, being interpreted, Love does not live at the Custom-house; however, by what style, title. or denomination foever you choose to be dignified or diftinguished hereafter, these three words willflick by you like a burr, and you can no more get quit of thefe and your christian name than St. Anthony could of his pig. My motions at present (which you are pleafed to ask after) are much like

† Mr. Walpole was just named to that post, which he exchanged foon after for that of Usher of the Exchequer.

those

<sup>\*</sup> Mr. West seems to have been, indeed, in haste when he writ this letter; elfe, furely, his fine tafte would have led him to have been more profuse in his praise of the Alcaic fragment. He might (I think) have faid, without paying too extravagant a compliment to Mr. Gray's genius, that no poet of the Augustan age ever produced four more perfect lines, or what would sooner impose upon the best critic, as being a genuine antient composition.

those of a pendulum or (\* Dr. Longically speaking) oscillatory. I fwing from Chapel or Hall home. and from home to Chapel or Hall. All the strange incidents that happen in my journies and returns I shall be fure to acquaint you with; the most wonderful is, that it now rains exceedingly, this has refreshed the + prospect, as the way for the most part lies between green fields, on either hand, terminated with buildings at some distance, castles, I prefume, and of great antiquity. The roads are very good, being, as I suspect, the works of Julius Casar's army, for they still preserve, in many places, the appearance of a pavement in pretty good repair, and, if they were not so near home, might perhaps be as much admired as the Via Appia; there are at present several rivulets to be crossed, and which ferve to enliven the view all around. The country is exceeding fruitful in ravens and fuch black cattle; but, not to tire you with my travels, I abruptly conclude Yours, &c.

August, 1738.

### LETTER XVII.

### Mr. GRAY to Mr. WEST.

I AM coming away all fo fast, and leaving behind me, without the least remorfe, all the beauties of sturbridge Fair. Its white bears may roar, its apes may wring their hands, and crocodiles cry their eyes out, all's one for that; I shall not once visit

+ All that follows is a humorously hyperbolic description of the quadrangle of Peter-House.

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<sup>\*</sup> Dr. Long, the master of Pembroke Hall, at this time read lectures in experimental philosophy.

them, nor so much as take my leave. The univerfity has published a severe edict against schismatical congregations, and created half a dozen new little procterlings to see its orders executed, being under mighty apprehensions lest \* Henley and his gilt tub should come to the Fair and seduce their young ones; but their pains are to small purpose, for lo, after all, he is not coming.

I am at this instant in the very agonies of leaving college, and would not wish the worst of my enemies a worse situation. If you knew the dust, the old boxes, the bedsteads, and tutors that are about my ears, you would look upon this letter as a great effort of my resolution and unconcernedness in the midst of evils. I fill up my paper with a loose sort of version of that scene in Pastor Fido that begins, Care selve beati. †

Sept. 1738.

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\* Orator Henley.

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+ This Latin version is extremely elegiac, but as it is only a version I do not insert it. Mr. Gray did not begin to learn Italian till about a year and a half before he translated this scene; and I find amongst his papers an English translation of part of the 4th Canto of Tasso's Gierusalemma Liberata, done previously to this, which has great merit. In a letter to Mr. West, dated, March, 1737, he says, "I learn Italian like any "dragon, and in two months am got through the 16th book " of Tasso, whom I hold in great admiration: I want you to " learn too, that I may know your opinion of him; nothing " can be easier than that language to any one who knows " Latin and French already, and there are few fo copious "and expressive." In the same letter he tells him, "that " his College has fet him a verfifying on a public occasion," " (viz. those verses which are called Tripos) on the theme of "Luna est habitabilis." The poem, I believe is to be found in the Muse Etopenses. I would further observe, on this occasion, that though Mr. Gray had lately read and translated Statius,

### LETTER XVIII.

#### Mr. WEST to Mr. GRAY.

I Thank you again and again for your two last most agreeable letters. They could not have come more a-propos; I.was without any books to divert me, and they supplied the want of every thing: I made them my classics in the Country, they were my Horace and Tibuslus—Not ita loquor assentandicausa ut probe nosti si me noris, verum quia sic mea est sententia. I am but just come to Town, and, to shew you my esteem of your favours, I venture to send you by the penny post, to your Father's, what you will find on the next page; I hope it will reach you soon after your arrival, your boxes out of the waggon, yourself out of the coach, and tutors out of your memory.

Adieu, we shall see one another, I hope, to-mor-

### ELEGIA.

Quod mihi tam gratæ missisti dona Camænæ,
Qualia Mænalius Pan Deus ipse velit,
Amplector te, Graie, et toto corde reposco.
Oh desiderium jam nimis usque meum:
Et mihi rura placent, & me quoq; sæpe volentem
Duxerunt Dryades per sua prata Deæ;

Statius, yet when he attempted composition, his judgmentimmediately directed him to the best model of versissization; accordingly his hexameters are, as far as modern ones can be, after the manner of Virgil: They move in the succession of his pauses, and close with his elisions.

Sicubi

Sicubi sympha fugit liquido pede, sive virentem, Magna decus nemoris, quercus opacat humum: Illuc mane nevo vagor, illuc vespere sero, Et, noto ut jacui gramine, nota cano. Nec nostræ ignorant divinam Amaryllida sylvæ : Ah, fi desit amor, nil mihi rura placent. Ille jugis habitat Dens, ille in vallibus imis. Regnat et in Cœlis, regnat & Oceano; Ille gregem taurosq; domat, sæviq; leonem Seminis; ille feros, ultus Adonin, apros: Ouin & fervet amore nemus, ramoq; sub omni Concentu tremulo plurima gaudet avis. Duræ etiam in sylvis agitant connubia plantæ, Duræ etiam & fertur saxa anima se Venus. Durior & faxis, & robore durior ille eft. Sincero fiquis pectore amare vetat : Non illi in manibus fanctum deponere pignus, Non illi arcanum cor aperire velim; Nescit amicitias, teneros qui nescit amores : Ah! si nulla Venus, nil mihi rura placent. Me licet a patria longe in tellure juberent Externâ positum ducere fata dies : Si vultus modo amatus adesset, non ego contra Plorarem magnos voce querente Deos. At dulci in gremio curarum oblivia ducens Nil cuperem præter posse placere meæ; Nec bona fortunæ aspiciens, neg; munera regum, Illa intrà optarem brachia cara mori. Sept. 27, 1738.

Mr. Gray, on his return to Town, continued at his father's house in Cornhill till the March following, in which interval Mr. Walpole being difinclined to enter so early into the business of Parliament, prevailed on Sir Robert Walpole to permit him to go abroad,

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and on Mr. Gray (as was said before) to be the companion of his travels. Mr. West spent the greatest part of the winter with his mother and sister at Epsom, during which time a letter or two more passed between the two friends. But these I think it unnecessary to insert, as I have already given sufficient specimens of the blossoms of their Genius. The Reader of taste and candour will I trust, consider them only as such; yet will be led to think that as the one produced afterwards "fruits worthy of paradise," the other, had he lived longer, would also have produced them.

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### SECTION THE SECOND.

S I allot this Section entirely to that part of Mr. I Gray's life, which he fpent in travelling through France and Italy, my province will be chiefly that of an Editor; and my only care to felect, from a large collection of letters written to his parents and to his friend Mr. West, those parts which, I imagine, will be most likely either to inform or amuse the reader. The multiplicity of accounts, published, both before and after the time when these letters were written, of those very places which Mr. Gray describes, will necessarily take from them much of their novelty; yet the elegant ease of his epistolary style has a charm in it for all readers of true tafte, that will make every apology of this fort needless. They will perceive, that as these letters were written without even the most distant view of publication, they are effentially different in their manner of description from any other that have either preceded or followed them; add to this, that they are interfperfed occasionally with some exquisitely finished pieces of Latin poetry, which he compofed on the spot for the entertainment of his friend. But not to anticipate any part of the reader's pleafure, I shall only further say, to forewarn him of a disappointment, that this correspondence is defective towards the end, and includes no description either of Venice or its territory; the last places which Mr. Gray visited. This defect was occasioned by an unfortunate disagreement between him and Mr. Walpole, arising from the difference of their tempers. The former being, from his earliest years, curious.

curious, pensive, and philosophical; the latter gay, lively, and, consequently, inconsiderate: \* this therefore occasioned their separation at Reggio. Mr. Gray went before him to Venice; and staying there only till he could find means of returning to England, he made the best of his way home, repassing the Alps, and following almost the same route through France by which he had before gone to Italy.

### LETTER I.

## Mr. GRAY to his MOTHER.

Amiens, April 1, N. S. 1739.

A Swe made but a very short journey to-day, and came to our inn early. I sit down to give you some account of our expedition. On the 29th (according to the style here) we lest Dover at twelve at noon, and with a pretty brisk gale, which pleased every body mighty well, except myself who was extremely sick the whole time; we reached Calais by five: The weather changed, and it began to snow hard the minute we came into the harbour, where we took the boat, and soon landed. Calais is an exceeding old, but very pretty town, and we hardly saw any thing there that was not so new and so

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<sup>\*</sup> In justice to the memory of so respectable a friend, Mr. Walpole enjoins me to charge him with the chief blame in their quarrel; confessing that more attention, complainance, and deference to a warm friendship, and superior judgment and prudence, might have prevented a rupture that gave much uneasiness to them both, and a lasting concern to the survivor; though in the Year 1744, a reconciliation was effected between them, by a lady who wished well to both parties.

different from England, that it surprized us agreeably. We went the next morning to the great Church, and were at high Mass (it being Easter Monday). We saw also the convent of the Capuchins, and the Nuns of St. Dominic: with these last we held much conversation, especially with an English Nun, a Mrs. Davis, of whose work I sent you, by the return of the pacquet, a letter-case to remember her by. In the afternoon we took a Postchaife (it still snowing very hard) for Boulogne, which was only eighteen miles further. This chaife is a strange fort of conveyance, of much greater use than beauty, refembling an ill-shaped chariot, only with the door opening before instead of the fide; three horses draw it, one between the shafts, and the other two on each fide, on one of which the postillion rides, and drives too: \* This vehicle will upon occasion, go fourscore miles a-day, but Mr. Walpole, being in no hurry, chooses to make easy journeys of it, and they are easy ones indeed; for the motion is much like that of a Sedan, we go about fix miles an hour, and commonly change borfes at the end of it: it is true they are no very graceful fleeds, but they go well, and through roads which they fay are bad for France, but to me they feem gravel walks and bowling-greens; in short it would be the finest travelling in the world, were it not for the inns, which are mostly terrible places indeed. But to describe our progress somewhat more regularly, we came into Boulogne when it was almost dark, and went out pretty early on Tuesday morning; fo that all I can fay about it is, that it is a large, old, fortified town, with more English

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<sup>\*</sup> This was before the introduction of Post-chaises here, else it would not have appeared a circumstance worthy notice.

in it than French. On Tuesday we were to go to Abbéville, seventeen leagues, or fifty-one short English miles; but by the way we dined at Montreuil, much to our hearts' content, on stinking mutton cutlets, addle eggs, and ditch water. Madame the hoftess made her appearance in long lappets of bone lace and a fack of linfey-woolfey. We supped and lodged pretty well at Abbéville, and had time to see a little of it before we came out this morning. There are seventeen convents in it, out of which we faw the chapels of the Minims and the Carme-We are now come further thirty miles lite Nuns to Amiens, the chief city of the province of Picardy. We have feen the cathedral, which is just what that of Canterbury must have been before the reformation. It is about the same size, a huge Gothic building, befet on the outfide with thousands of small statues, and within adorned with beautiful painted windows, and a vast number of chapels dreffed out in all their finery of altar pieces, embroidery, gilding, and marble. Over the high altar is preferved, in a very large wrought shrine of massy gold, the reliques of St. Firmin, their patron faint. We went also to the chapels of the Jesuits and Urfuline Nuns, the latter of which is very richly adorn-To-morrow we shall lie at Clermont, and next day reach Paris. The country we have paffed through hitherto has been flat, open, but agreeably diversified with villages, fields well-cultivated, and little rivers. On every hillock is a wind-mill, a crucifix, or a Virgin Mary dreffed in Flowers, and a farcenet robe; one fees not many people or carriages on the road; now and then indeed you meet a strolling friar, a country-man with his great muff,

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or a woman riding aftride on a little ass, with short petticoats, and a great head-dress of blue wool. \*\*\*

### LETTER II.

Mr. GRAY to Mr. WEST.

Paris, April 12, 1730. NFIN donc me voici à Paris. Mr. Walpole is gone out to supper at Lord Conway's, and here I remain alone, though invited too. Do not think I make a merit of writing to you preferably to a good supper; for these three days we have been here. have actually given me an aversion to eating in general. If hunger be the best fauce to meat, the French are certainly the worst cooks in the world; for what tables we have feen have been fo delicately ferved, and fo profusely, that, after rising from one of them. one imagines it impossible ever to eat again. And now, if I tell you all I have in my head, you will believe me mad, mais n'importe, courage, allons! for if I wait till my head grows clear and fettle a little, you may stay long enough for a letter. days have we been coming hither, which other people do in two; they have not been disagreeable ones, through a fine, open, country, admirable roads, and in an easy conveyance; the inns not absolutely intolerable, and images quite unusual presenting themselves on all hands. At Amiens we saw the fine cathedral, and eat paté des perdrix; passed through the park of Chantilly by the Duke of Bourbon's palace, which we only beheld as we passed; broke down at Lusarch; stopt at St. Dennis, saw all the beautiful

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beautiful monuments of the Kings of France, and the vast treasures of the abbey, rubies, and emeralds as big as small eggs, crucifixes, and vows, crowns and reliquaries, of inestimable value; but of all their curiofities the thing the most to our tastes, and which they indeed do the justice to esteem the glory of their collection, was a vale of an entire onyx, measuring at least five inches over, three deep, and of great thickness. It is at least two thousand years old, the beauty of the stone and sculpture upon it (reprefenting the mysteries of Bacchus) beyond expression admirable; we have dreamed of it ever fince. The jolly old Benedictine, that showed us the treasures, had in his youth been ten years a foldier; he laughed at all the reliques, was very full of stories, and mighty obliging. On Saturday evening we got to Paris, and were driven through the streets a long while before we knew where we were. The minute we came, voila Milors Holderneffe, Conway, and his brother; all stayed supper, and till two o'clock in the morning, for here nobody ever fleeps; it is not the way: Next day go to dine at my Lord Holdernesse's, there was the Abbé Prevot, author of the Cleveland, and several other pieces much esteemed; the rest were English. At night we went to the Pandore; a spectacle literally, for it is nothing but a beautiful piece of Machinery of three scenes. The first represents the chaos, and by degrees the separation of the elements. fecond, the temple of Jupiter, and the giving of the box to Pandora. The third, the opening of the box, and all the mischiefs that ensued. An absurd design, but executed in the higest perfection, and that in one of the finest theatres in the world; it is the grande fale des machines in the Palais des Tuileries. Next day dined at Lord Waldegrave's; then to the opera, Imagine

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Imagine to yourfelf for the drama four acts entirely unconnected with each other, each founded on forme little history, skilfully taken out of an ancient author. e. g. Ovid's Metamorphofes, &c. and with great address converted into a French piece of gallantry. For instance, that which I saw, called the Ballet de la Paix, had its first act built upon the story of Nireus. Homer having faid he was the handfomest man of his time, the poet, imagining fuch a one could not want a mistress, has given him one. Thefe two come in and fing fentiment in lamentable strains. neither air nor recitative; only to one's great joy. they are every now and then interrupted by a dance or (to one's great forrow) by a chorus that borders the stage from one end to the other, and screams, past all power of simile to represent. The second act was Baucis and Philemon. Baucis is a beautiful young shepherdess, and Philemon her swain. Jupiter falls in love with her, but nothing will prevail upon her; fo it is all mighty well, and the chorus fing and dance the praises of Constancy. The two Other acts were about Iphis and Ianthe, and the Judgment of Paris. Imagine, I fay, all this transacted by cracked voices, trilling divisions upon two notes and an half, accompanied by an orchestra of humstrums, and a whole house more attentive than if Farinelli fung, and you will almost have formed a just notion of the thing.\* Our astonishment at their absurdity you can never conceive; we had enough

<sup>\*</sup>Our author's sentiments here seem to correspond entirely with those which J. J. Rousseau afterwards published in his famous Lettre sur la Musique Françoise. In a French letter also, which lar. Gray writ to his friend soon after this, he calls their music "des miaulemens & des heursemens essent un tidamatre du diable: voilá la musus signe Françoise en abregé."

to do to express it by screaming an hour louder than the whole dramatis personæ. We have also seen twice the Comedie Françoise; first, the Mahomet Second, a tragedy that has had a great run of late; and the thing itself does not want its beauties, but the actors are beyond measure delightful. Mademoifelle Goussin (Mr. Voltaire's Zara) has with a charming (though little) person the most pathetic tone of voice, the finest expression in her face, and most proper action imaginable. There is also a Dufrêne, who did the chief character, a handsome man and a prodigious fine actor. The fecond we faw was the Philosophe marie, and here they performed as well in comedy; there is a Mademoifelle Quinault, fomewhat in Mrs. Clive's way, and a Monsieur Grandval, in the nature of Wilks, who is the genteelest thing in the world. There are feveral more would be much admired in England, and many (whom we have not feen) much celebrated here. Great part of our time is spent in seeing churches and palaces full of fine pictures, &c. the quarter of which is not yet exhausted. For my part, I could entertain myfelf this month merely with the common streets and the people in them. \* \* \*

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## Mr. GRAY to Mr. WEST.

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A FTER the little particulars aforesaid I should have proceeded to a journal of our transactions for this week past, should have carried you post from hence to Versailles, hurried you through the gardens

gardens to Trianon, back again to Paris, fo away to Chantilly. But the fatigue is perhaps more than you can bear, and moreover I think I have reason to stomach your last piece of gravity. Supposing you were in your soberest mood, I am forry you should think me capable of ever being so dislipé, so evaporé. as not to be in a condition of relishing any thing you could fay to me. And now, if you have a mind to make your peace with me, arouse ye from your megrims and your melancholies, and (for exercise is good for you) throw away your night-cap, call for your jack-boots, and fet out with me, last Saturday evening, for Verfailles-and fo at eight o'clock. passing through a road speckled with vines, and villas, and hares, and partridges, we arrive at the great avenue, flanked on either hand with a double row of trees about half a mile long, and with the palace itself to terminate the view; facing which. on each fide of you is placed a femicircle of very handsome buildings, which form the stables. These we will not enter into, because you know we are no iockies. Well! and is this the great front of Verfailles? What a huge heap of littleness! it is composed, as it were, of three courts, all open to the eye at once, and gradually diminishing till you come to the royal apartments, which on this fide prefent but half a dozen windows and a balcony. This last is all that can be called a front, for the rest is only great wings. The hue of all this mass is black, dirty red, and yellow; the first proceeding from stone changed by age; the second, from a mixture of brick; and the last, from a profusion of tarnished gilding. You cannot see a more disagreeable tout-ensemble; and, to finish the matter, it is all stuck over in many places with small busts of a sawny hue between every window. We pass through

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this to go into the garden, and here the cafe is indeed altered; nothing can be vafter and more magnificent than the back front; before it a very spacious terrace spreads itself, adorned with two large basons; these are bordered and lined (as most of the others) with white marble, with handsome flatues of bronze reclined on their edges. From hence you descend a huge flight of steps into a semicircle formed by woods, that are cut all round into niches. which are filled with beautiful copies of all the famous antique statues in white marble. Just in the middle is the bason of Latona; she and her children are standing on the top of a rock in the middle, on the fides of which are the peafants, some half, some totally changed into frogs, all which throw out water at her in great plenty. From this place runs on the great alley, which brings you into a compleat round, where is the bason of Apollo, the biggest in the gardens. He is rifing in his car out of the water, furrounded by nymphs and tritons, all in bronze, and finely executed, and these as they play, raise a perfect from about him; beyond this is the great canal, a prodigious long piece of water, that terminates the whole: All this you have at one coup d'oeil in entering the garden, which is truly great. I cannot fay as much of the general tafte of the place; every thing you behold favours too much of art; all is forced, all is constrained about you; statues and vales lowed every where without distinction : sugarleaves and minced-pies of yew; fcrawl-work of box, and little squirting jets-d'eau, besides a great sameness in the walks, cannot help striking one at first fight, not to mention the fillieft of labyrinths, and all Æsop's fables in water ; fince these were designed in usum Delphini only. Here then we walk by moonlight, and hear the ladies and the nightingales fing. Next

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Next morning, being Whitfunday, make ready to go to the Installation of nine Knights du Saint Efprit. Cambis is one: high mass celebrated with music, great croud, much incense, King, Queen, Dauphin, Mesdames, Cardinals, and Court: Knights arrayed by his majefty; reverences before the altar. not bows, but curties; stiff hams; much tittering among the ladies; trumpets, kettle-drums and fifes. My dear West, I'am vastly delighted with Trianon. all of us with Chantilly; if you would know why. you must have patience, for I can hold my pen no longer, except to tell you that I faw Britannicus last night; all the characters, particularly Agrippina and Nero, done to perfection; to-morrow Phædra and Hippolitus. We are making you a little bundle of petites pieces; there is nothing in them, but they are acting at prefent; there are too Crebillon's Letters, and Amusemens sur le language des Bêtes, said to be of one Bougeant, a Jesuit; they are both esteemed, and lately come out. This day fe'nnight we go to Rheims.

## LETTER IV.

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## Mr. GRAY to his MOTHER.

Rheims, June 21, N. S. 1739.

WE have now been fettled almost three weeks in this city, which is more considerable upon account of its size and antiquity, than from the number of its inhabitants, or any advantages of commerce. There is little in it worth a stranger's curiosity, besides the cathedral church, which is a vast Gothick building of a surprizing beauty and light-

ness.

ness, all covered over with a profusion of little statues and other ornaments. It is here the Kings of France are crowned by the Archbishop of Rheims. who is the first-Peer, and the Primate of the kingdom: The holy veffel made use of on that occasion, which contains the oil, is kept in the church of St. Nicafius hard by, and is believed to have been brought by an angel from heaven at the coronation of Clovis, the first christian king. The streets in general have but a melancholy aspect, the houses all old: the public walks run along the fide of a great moat under the ramparts, where one hears a continual croaking of frogs; the country round about is one great plain covered with vines, which at this time of the year afford no very pleasing prospect, as being not above a foot high. What pleasures the place denies to the fight, it makes up to the palate; fince you have nothing to drink but the best champaigne in the world, and all forts of provisions equally good. As to other pleasures, there is not that freedom of conversation among the people of fashion here, that one sees in other parts of France; for though they are not very numerous in this place, and confequently must live a good deal together, yet they never come to any great familiarity with one another. As my Lord Conway, had spent a good part of his time among them, his brother, and we with him, were foon introduced into all their affemblies: As foon as you enter, the lady of the house presents each of you a card, and offers you a party at quadrille; you fit down and play forty deals without intermission, excepting one quarter of an hour, when every body rifes to eat of what they call the gouter, which supplies the place of our tea, and is a service of wine, fruits, cream, sweetmeats, crawfish and cheese. People take what they like,

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and fit down again to play; after that, they make little parties to go to the walks together, and then all the company retire to their separate habitations. Very feldom any suppers or dinners are given ; and this is the manner they live among one another . not fo much out of any aversion they have to pleafure, as out of a fort of formality they have contracted by not being much frequented by peofile who have lived at Paris. It is fure they do not hate gaiety any more than the rest of their country-people, and can enter into diversions, that are once proposed, with a good grace enough; for instance, the other evening we happened to be got together in a company of eighteen people, men and women of the best fashion here, at a garden in the town to walk; when one of the ladies bethought herself of asking, Why should not we sup here? Immediately the cloth was laid by the fide of a fountain under the trees, and a very elegant supper served up; after which another faid, Come, let us fing; and directly began herself: From singing we insensibly fell to dancing, and finging in a round; when fomebody mentioned the violins, and immediately a company of them was ordered: Minuets were begun in the open air, and then came country-dances, which held till four o'Clock next morning; at which hour the gayest lady there proposed, that such as were weary should get into their coaches, and the rest of them should dance before them with the music in the van; and in this manner we paraded through all the principal streets of the city, and waked every body in it. Mr. Walpole had a mind to make a custom of the thing, and would have given a ball in the same manner next week, but the women did not come into it; fo I believe it will drop, and they C 2

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We are not to stay above a month longer here, and shall then go to Dijon, the chief city of Burgundy, a very splendid and a very gay town; at least such is the present design.

#### LETTER V.

## Mr. GRAY to his FATHER.

Dijon, Friday, Sept. 11, N.S. 1739. WE have made three short days journey of it from Rheims hither, where we arrived the night before last: The road we have passed through has been extremely agreeable; it runs through the most fertile part of Champaigne by the fide of the river Marne, with a chain of hills on each hand at fome distance, entirely covered with woods and vineyards, and every now and then the ruins of fome old castle on their tops; we lay at St. Dizier the first night, and at Langres the fecond, and got hither the next evening time enough to have a full view of the city in entering it: It lies in a very extensive plain covered with vines and corn, and confequently is plentifully supplied with both. I need not tell you that it is the chief city of Burgundy, nor that it is of great antiquity; considering which one should imagine it ought to be larger than one finds it. However, what it wants in extent, is made up in beauty and cleanliness, and in rich convents and churches, most of which we have feen. The palace of the States is a magnificent new building, where the Duke of Bourbon is lodged when he comes

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comes every three years to hold that Affembly, as governor of the Province. A quarter of a mile out of the town is a famous Abbey of Carthusians, which we are just returned from seeing. In their chapel are the tombs of the ancient Dukes of Burgundy, that were so powerful, till at the death of Charles the Bold, the last of them, this part of his dominions was united by Lewis XI. to the crown of France. To-morrow we are to pay a visit to the Abbot of the Ciftercians, who lives a few leagues off, and who uses to receive all strangers with great civility; his Abbey is one of the richest in the kingdom; he keeps open house always, and lives with great magnificence. We have feen enough of this town already, to make us regret the time we spent at Rheims; it is full of people of condition, who feem to form a much more agreeable fociety than we found in Champaigne; but as we shall stay here but two or three days longer, it is not worth while to be introduced into their houses. On Monday or Tuesday we are to set out for Lyons, which is two days journey distant, and from thence you shall hear again from me.

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#### LETTER VI

Mr. GRAY to Mr. WEST.

Lyons, Sept. 18, N. S. 1739.

Scavez vous bien, mon cher ami, que je vous hais, que je vous deteste? voila des termes un peu fortes; and that will save me, upon a just computation, a page of paper and six drops of ink; which, if I confined myself to reproaches of a more

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moderate nature, I should be obliged to employ in using you according to your deferts. What! to let any body refide three months at Rheims, and write but once to them? Please to consult Tully de Amicit. page 5, line 25, and you will find it faid in express terms, "Ad amicum inter Remos relegatum menfe uno quinquies scriptum esto;" nothing more plain, or less liable to false interpretations. Now because, I suppose, it will give you pain to know we are in being, I take this opportunity to tell you that we are at the ancient and celebrated Lugdunum, a city fituated upon the confluence of the Rhône and Saône (Arar, I should say) two people, who though of tempers extremely unlike, think fit to join hands here, and make a little party to travel to the Mediterranean in company; the lady comes gliding along through the fruitful plains of Burgundy, incredibili lenitate, ita ut oculis in utram partem fluit judicari non possit; the gentleman runs all rough and roaring down from the mountains of Switzerland to meet her; and with all her foft airs The likes him never the worfe; Are goes through the middle of the city in state, and he passes incog. without the walls, but waits for her a little below. The houses here are so high, and the streets so narrow, as would be sufficient to render Lyons the dismallest place in the world, but the number of people, and the face of commerce diffused about it, are, at least, as sufficient to make it the liveliest : Between these two sufficiencies, you will be in doubt what to think of it; so we shall leave the city, and proceed to its environs, which are beautiful beyond expression; it is surrounded with mountains, and those mountains all bedropped and bespeckled with houses, gardens, and plantations of the rich Bourgeois, who have from thence a prospect of the city

in the vale below on one hand, on the other the rich plains of the Lyonnois, with the rivers winding among them, and the Alps, with the mountains of Dauphine, to bound the view. All yesterday morning we were busied in climbing up Mount Fourviere, where the ancient city stood perched at fuch a height, that nothing but the hopes of gain could certainly ever perfuade their neighbours to pay them a visit: Here are the ruins of the Emperor palaces, that refided here, that is to fay, Augustus and Severus; they confift in nothing but in great masses of old wall, that have only their quality to make them refpected. In a vineyard of the Minims are remains of a theatre; the Fathers, whom they belong to, hold them in no effeem at all, and would have showed us their facrifty and chapel instead of them : The Urfuline Nuns have in their garden fome Roman baths, but we having the misfortune to be men, and heretics, they did not think proper to admit us. Hard by are eight arches of a most magnificent aqueduct, faid to be erected by Antony, when his legions were quartered here: There are many other parts of it dispersed up and down the country, for it brought the water from a river many leagues off in La Forez. Here are remains too of Agrippa's feven great roads which met at Lyons; in some places they lie twelve feet deep in the ground: In short, a thousand matters that you shall not know, till you give me a description of the Pais de Tombridge, and the effect its waters have upon you.

### LETTER VII.

#### Mr. WEST to Mr. GRAY.

Temple, Sept. 28, 1739.

If wishes could turn to realities, I would sling down my law books, and sup with you to-night. But, alas, here am I doomed to fix, while you are sluttering from city to city, and enjoying all the pleasures which a gay climate can afford. It is out of the power of my heart to envy you your good fortune, yet I cannot help indulging a few natural defires; as for example, to take a walk with you on the banks of the Rhône, and to be climbing up mount Fourviere;

Jam mens prætrepidans avet vagari:

Jam læti studio pedes vigescunt.

However, fo long as I am not deprived of your correspondence, so long shall I always find some pleafure in being at home. And, fetting all vain curiofity aside, when the fit is over, and my reason begins to come to herself, I have several other powerful motives which might eafily cure me of my reftless inclinations: Amongst these, my Mother's ill state of health is not the least; which was the reason of our going to Tunbridge, fo that you cannot expect much description or amusement from thence. Nor indeed is there much room for either; for all diversions there may be reduced to two articles, gaming and going to church. They were pleased to publish certain Tunbrigiana this feafon; but fuch ana ! I believe there were never fo many vile little verses put together before. So much for Tunbridge: London affords me as little to fay. What! so huge a town as London? Yes, confider only how I live in that town. I never go into

into the gay world or high world, and consequently receive nothing from thence to brighten my imagination. The busy world I leave to the busy; and am resolved never to talk politics till I can act at the same time. To tell old stories, or prate of old books, seems a little musty; and toujours Chapon bouilli, won't do. However, for want of better fare, take another little mouthful of my poetry.

O mez jucunda comes quietis!'
Quz fere zgrotum solita es levare'
Pectus, et sensim ah! nimis ingruentes
Fallere curas:

Quid canes? quanto Lyra dic furore Gesties, quando hâc reducem sodalem Glauciam \* gaudere simul videbis Meque sub umbrâ?

### LETTER VIII.

## Mr. GRAY to his MOTHER

Lyons, Od. 13, N. S. 1739.

IT is now almost five weeks fince I lest Dijon, one of the gayest and most agreeable little cities of France, for Lyons, its reverse in all these particulars. It is the second in the kingdom in bigness and rank, the streets excessively narrow and nasty; the houses immensely high and large; (that, for instance, where we are lodged, has twenty-five rooms on a sloor, and that for five stories) it swarms with inhabitants like Paris itself, but chiefly a mercantile people, too much given up to commerce to think of their own, much less of a stranger's diversions. We

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<sup>\*</sup> He gives Mr. Gray the name of Glaucias frequently in his Latin verse, as Mr. Gray calls him Favonius.

have no acquaintance in the town, but fuch English as happen to be passing through here, in their way to Italy and the South, which at present happen to be near thirty in number. It is a fortnight fince we fet out from hence upon a little excursion to Geneva. We took the longest road, which lies through Savoy, on purpose to see a samous monastery, called the grand Chartreuse, and had no reason to think our time loft. After having travelled feven days very flow (for we did not change horses, it being impossible for a chaise to go post in these roads) we arrived at a little village, among the mountains of Savoy, called Echelles; from thence we proceeded on horses, who are used to the way, to the mountain of the Chartreuse: It is fix miles to the top; the road runs winding up it, commonly not fix feet broad; on one hand is the rock, with woods of pine-trees hanging over head; on the other, a monstrous precipice, almost perpendicular, at the bottom of which rolls a torrent, that fometimes tumbling among the fragments of stone that have fallen from on high, and fometimes precipitating itfelf down vast descents with a noise like thunder, which is still made greater by the echo from the mountains on each fide, concurs to form one of the most folemn, the most romantic, and the most astonishing scenes I ever beheld: Add to this the strange views made by the craggs and cliffs on the other hand; the cascades that in many places throw themfelves from the very fummit down into the vale, and the river below; and many other particulars impossible to describe; you will conclude we had no occasion to repent our pains. This place St. Bruno chose to retire to, and upon its very top founded the aforesaid Convent, which is the superior of the whole order. When we came there, the two fathers,

fathers, who are commissioned to entertain strangers, (for the rest must neither speak one to another, nor to any one else) received us very kindly; and set before us a repast of dried fish, eggs, butter, and fruits, all excellent in their kind, and extremely neat. They pressed us to spend the night there, and to flay some days with them; but this we could not do, fo they led us about their house, which is you must think, like a little city; for there are 100 fathers, besides 300 servants, that make their clothes, grind their corn, press their wine, and do every thing among themselves: The whole is quite orderly and fimple; nothing of finery, but the wonderful decency, and the strange situation, more than supply the place of it. In the evening we descended by the fame way, passing through many clouds that were then forn ig themselves on the mountain's fide. Next day we continued our journey by Chamberry, which, though the chief city of the Dutchy, and refidence of the king of Sardinia, when he comes into this part of his dominions, makes but a very mean and infignificant appearance; we lay at Aix, once famous for its hot baths, and the next night at Annecy; the day after, by noon, we got to Geneva. I have not time to fay any thing about it, nor of our folitary journey back again.

#### LETTER IX.

#### Mr. GRAY to his FATHER.

Lyons, Od. 25, N. S. 1739.

IN my last I gave you the particulars of our little journey to Geneva; I have only to add, that we stayed about a week, in order to see Mr. Con-

way fettled there: I do not wonder fo many English choose it for their residence; the city is very fmall, neat, prettily built, and extremely populous; the Rhône runs through the middle of it. and it is furrounded with new fortifications, that give it a military compact air; which, joined to the happy, lively countenances of the inhabitants, and an exact discipline always as strictly observed as in time of war, makes the little republic appear a match for a much greater power; though perhaps Geneva, and all that belongs to it, are not of equal extent with Windsor and its two parks. To one that has passed through Savoy, as we did, nothing can be more firiking than the contrast, as soon as he approaches the town. Near the gates of Geneva runs the torrent Arve, which separates it from the King of Sardinia's dominions; on the other fide of it lies a country naturally, indeed, fine and fertile, but you meet with nothing in it but meagre, ragged, bare-footed peafants, with their children, in extreme mifery and nastiness; and even of these no great numbers : You no sooner have crossed the stream I have mentioned, but poverty is no more; not a beggar, hardly a discontented face to be seen; numerous and well-dreffed people fwarming on the ramparts; drums beating; foldiers well-cloathed and armed, exercifing; and folks with business in their looks, hurrying to and fro; all contribute to make any person, who is not blind, sensible what a difference there is between the two governments, that are the causes of one view and the other. The beautiful lake, at one end of which the town is fituated; its extent; the feveral states that border upon it; and all its pleafures, are too well known for me to mention them. We failed upon it as far as the dominions of Geneva extend, that is, about two leagues

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leagues and an half on each fide; and landed at feveral of the little houses of pleasure, that the inhabitants have built all about it, who received us with much politeness. The same night we eat part of a trout, taken in the lake, that weighed thirty-feven pounds; as great a monster as it appeared to us, it was esteemed there nothing extraordinary, and they affured us, it was not uncommon to catch them of fifty pounds; they are dreffed here, and fent post to Paris upon fome great occasions; nay, even to Madrid, as we are told. The road we returned through was not the same we came by: We crossed the Rhône at Seyffel, and paffed for three days among the mountains of Bugey, without meeting with any thing new: At last we came out into the plains of La Breffe, and fo to Lyons again. Sir Robert has written to Mr. Walpole, to defire he would go to Italy; which he has refolved to do; fo that all the scheme of spending the winter in the South of France is laid aside, and we are to pass it in a much finer country. You may imagine I am not forry to have this opportunity of feeing the place in the world that heft deferves it : Besides as the Pope (who is eightyeight, and has been lately at the point of death) cannot probably last a great while, perhaps we may have the fortune to be present at the election of a new one, when Rome will be in all its glory. Friday next we certainly begin our journey; in two days we shall come to the foot of the Alps, and fix more we shall be in passing them. Even here the winter is begun; what then must it be among those vast snowy mountains where it is hardly ever summer? We are, however, as well armed as possible against the cold, with muffs, hoods, and masks of bever, fur-boots, and bear fkins. When we arrive at Turin, we shall rest after the fatigues of the journey. \* \* \*

#### LETTER X.

### Mr. GRAY to his MOTHER.

Turin, Nov. 7, N.S. 1739. A M this night arrived here, and have just set down to rest me after eight days tiresome journey: For the three first we had the same road we before past through to go to Geneva; the fourth we turned out of it, and for that day and the next travelled rather among than upon the Alps; the way commonly running through a deep valley by the fide of the river Arc, which works itself a passage, with great difficulty and a mighty noise, among vast quantities of rocks, that have rolled down from the mountain tops. The winter was fo far advanced, as in great measure to spoil the beauty of the profpect: however there was still fomewhat fine remaining amidst the savageness and horrour of the place: The fixth we began to go up several of these mountains; and as we were passing one, met with an odd accident enough: Mr. Walpole had a little fat black spaniel, that he was very fond of, which he fometimes used to set down, and let it run by the chaife side. We were at that time in a very rough road, not two yards broad at most; on one fide was a great wood of pines, and on the other à vast precipice; it was noon-day, and the sun thone bright, when all of a fudden from the wood-fide, (which was as fleep upwards, as the other part was downwards) out rushed a great wolf, came close to the head of the horfes, feized the dog by the throat, and rushed up the hill again with him in his mouth. This was done in less than a quarter of a minute; we all faw it, and yet the fervants had not time to draw

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draw their piftols, or do any thing to fave the dog\*. If he had not been there, and the creature had thought fit to lay hold of one of the horses; chaife, and we, and all must inevitably have tumbled above fifty fathoms perpendicular down the precipice. The feventh we came to Lanebourg, the last town in Savoy; it lies at the foot of the famous mount Cenis, which is fo fituated as to allow no room for any way but over the very top of it. Here the chaife was forced to be pulled to pieces, and the baggage and that to be carried by mules: We ourselves were wrapped up in our furs, and feated upon a fort of matted chair without legs, which is carried upon poles in the manner of a bier, and fo began to ascend by the help of eight men. It was fix miles to the top, where a plain opens itself about as many more in breadth, covered perpetually with very deep fnow, and in the midft of that a great lake of unfathomable depth, from whence a river takes its rife, and tumbles over monftrous rocks quite down the other fide of the mountain. The descent is fix miles more, but infinitely more fleep than the going up; and here the men perfectly fly down with you, flepping from stone to stone with incredible swiftness in places where none but they could go three paces without falling. The immensity of the precipices, the roaring of the river and torrents that run into it, the huge craggs covered with ice and fnow, and the clouds below you and about you, are objects it is impossible to conceive without seeing them; and though we had heard many strange de-

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<sup>\*</sup> This odd incident might have afforded Mr. Gray a fabject for an ode, which would have been a good companion to that on the death of a favourite cat.

scriptions of the scene, none of them at all came up to it. We were but five hours in performing the whole, from which you may judge of the rapidity of the men's motion. We are now got into Piedmont, and stopped'a little while at La Ferriere, a fmall village about three quarters of the way down. but still among the clouds, where we began to hear a new language spoken round about us; at last we got quite down, went through the Pas du Sufe, a narrow road among the Alps, defended by two fortreffes, and lay at Bossolens: Next evening thro' a fine avenue of nine miles in length, as strait as a line, we arrived at this city, which, as you know, is the capital of the principality, and the residence of the King of Sardinia. \*\* \* We shall stay here, I believe, a fortnight, and proceed for Genoa, which is three or four days journey to go post. I am, &c.

## LETTER XI.

Mr. GRAY to Mr. WEST.

A FTER eight days journey through Greenland, we arrived at Turin. You approach it by a handsome avenue of nine miles long, and quite strait. The entrance is guarded by certain vigilant dragons, ealled Douäniers, who mumbled us for some time. The city is not large, as being a place of strength,

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<sup>\*\*\*</sup> That part of the letter here omitted, contained only a description of the city; which, as Mr. Gray has given it to Mr. West in the following letter, and that in a more lively manner, I thought it unnecessary to insert. A liberty I have taken in other parts of this correspondence, in order to avoid repetitions.

and confequently confined within its fortifications : it has many beauties and some faults; among the first are streets all laid out by the line, regular uniform buildings, fine walks that furround the whole. and in general a good lively clean appearance : But the houses are of brick plaistered, which is apt to want repairing; the windows of oiled paper, which is apt to be torn; and every thing very flight, which is apt to tumble down. There is an excellent Opera. but it is only in the Carnival : Balls every night, but only in the Carnival. Masquerades too, but only This Carnival lasts only from in the Carnival. Christmas to Lent; one half of the remaining part of the year is past in remembering the last, the other in expecting the future Carnival. We cannot well subsist upon such slender diet, no more than upon anexecrable Italian Comedy, and a Puppet-Show, called Representazione d'un' anima dannata, which, I think, are all the present diversions of the place; except the Marquise de Cavaillac's Conversatione, where one goes to fee people play at Ombre and Taroc, a game with 72 cards all painted with funs, and moons, and devils and monks. Mr. Walpole has been at court; the family are at present at a country palace, called La Venerie. The palace here in town is the very quintessence of gilding and looking-glass; inlaid floors, carved pannels, and painting, whereever they could flick a brush. I own I have not, as yet, any where met with those grand and simple works of Art, that are to amaze one, and whose fight one is to be the better for: But those of Nature have aftonished me beyond expression. In our little journey up to the Grande Chartreuse, I do not remember to have gone ten paces without an exclamation, that there was no reftraining: Not a precipice, not a torrent, not a cliff, but is pregnant with religion

religion and poetry. There are certain scenes that would awe an atheift into belief, without the help of other argument. One need not have a very fantaffic imagination to fee fpirits there at noon-day; You have Death perpetually before your eyes, only fo far removed, as to compose the mind without frighting it. I am well perfuaded St. Bruno was a man of no common genius, to choose such a situation for his retirement; and perhaps should have been a difciple of his, had I been born in his time. You may believe Abelard and Heloise were not forgot on this occasion: If I do not mistake, I saw you too every now and then at a distance among the trees; il me femble, que j'ai vu ce chien de visage là quelque part. You feemed to call to me from the other fide of the precipice, but the noise of the river below was fo great, that I really could not diftinguish what you faid; it feemed to have a cadence like verse. In your next you will be so good to let me know what it was. The week we have fince passed among the Alps, has not equalled the fingle day upon that mountain, because the winter was rather too advanced, and the weather a little foggy. However, it did not want its beauties; the favage rudeness of the view is inconceiveable without feeing it: I reckoned, in one day, thirteen cascades, the least of which was I dare say, one hundred feet in height. I had Livy in the chaife with me, and beheld his " Nives cœlo prope immistæ, tecta informia impo-" fita rupibus, pecora jumentaque torrida frigore, " homines intonsi & inculti, animalia inanimaque omnia rigentia gelu; omnia confragofa, prærup-" taque." The creatures that inhabit them are, in all respects, below humanity; and most of them, especially women, have the tumidum guttur, which they call goscia. Mount Cenis, I confess, carries

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the permission mountains have of being frightful rather too far; and its horrours were accompanied with too much danger to give one time to resect upon their beauties. There is a family of the Alpine monsters I have mentioned, upon its very top, that in the middle of winter calmly lay in their stock of provisions and firing, and so are buried in their hut for a month or two under the snow. When we were down it, and had got a little way into Piedmont, we began to find "Apricos quosdam colles, "rivosque prope sylvas, et jam humana cultu dig-"niora loca." I read Silius Italicus too, for the first time; and wished for you according to custom. We set out for Genoa in two days time.

#### LETTER XII.

Mr. GRAY to Mr. WEST.

Genoa, Nov. 21, 1739.

HORRIDOS tractus, Boreæq; linquens Regna Taurini fera, molliorem Advehor brumam, Genuæq; amantes Litora foles.

At least if they do not, they have a very ill taste; for I never beheld any thing more amiable: Only figure to yourself a vast semicircular bason, sull of fine blue sea, and vessels of all forts and sizes, some sailing out, some coming in, and others at anchor; and all round it palaces and churches peeping over one another's heads, gardens and marble terrases sull of orange and cypress trees, sountains, and trellis-works covered with vines, which all together compose the grandest of theatres. This is the first coup d'oeil, and

is almost all I am yet able to give you an account of, for we arrived late last night. To-day was, luckily, a great festival, and in the morning we resorted to the church of the Madonna delle Vigne, to put up our little orifons; (I believe I forgot to tell you, that we have been fometime converts to the holy Catholic church) we found our Lady richly dreffed out, with a crown of diamonds on her own head, another upon the child's, and a constellation of waxlights burning before them: Shortly after came the Doge, in his robes of crimfon damask, and a cap of the same, followed by the Senate in black. Upon his approach began a fine concert of music, and among the rest two eunuchs' voices, that were a perfect feast to ears that had heard nothing but French operas for a year. We liftened to this and breathed, nothing but incense for two hours. The Doge is a very tall, lean, stately old figure, called Costantino Balbi; and the Senate feem to have been made upon the same model. They said their prayers, and heard an absurd white friar preach, with equal devotion. After this we went to the Annonciata, a church built by the family Lomellini, and belonging to it : which is, indeed a most stately structure, the infide wholly marble of various kinds, except where gold and painting takes its place. From hence to the Palazzo Doria. I should make you fick of marble, if I told you how it was lavished here upon the porticoes, the balustrades, and terrases, the lowest of which extends quite to the sea. The infide is by no means answerable to the outward magnificence; the furniture feems to be as old as the founder of the family. There great imboffed filver tables tell you, in bas-relief, his victories at sea; how he entertained the Emperor Charles, and how he refused the fovereignty of the Commonwealth when it was offered

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offered him; the rest is old-sashioned velvet chairs, and gothic tapestry. The rest of the day has been spent, much to our hearts' content, in cursing French music and architecture, and in singing the praises of Italy. We find this place so very fine, that we are in fear of finding nothing siner. We are fallen in love with the Mediterranean sea, and hold your lakes and rivers in vast contempt. This is

"The happy country where huge lemons grow," as Waller fays; and I am forry to think of leaving

it in a week for Parma, although it be

The happy country where huge cheefes grow.

#### LETTER XIII.

## Mr. GRAY to his MOTHER.

Bologna, Dec. 9, N.S. 1739. UR journey hither has taken up much less time than I expected. We left Genoa (a charming place, and one that deferved a longer stay) the week before last; croffed the mountains, and lay that night at Tortona, the next at St. Giovanni, and the morning after came to Piacenza. That city, (though the capital of a Dutchy) made fo frippery an appearance, that instead of spending some days there, as had been intended, we only dined, and went on to Parma; stayed there all the following day, which was paffed in vifiting the famous works of Corregio in the Dome, and other churches. The fine gallery of pictures, that once belonged to the Dukes of Parma, is no more here; the King of Naples has carried it all thither, and the city had not merit enough to detain us any longer, fo we proceeded through Reggio

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Reggio to Modena; this, though the residence of its Duke, is an ill-built melancholy place, all of brick, as are most of the towns in this part of Lombardy: He himself lives in a private manner, with very little appearance of a court about him; he has one of the noblest collections of paintings in the world, which entertained us extremely well the rest of that day and a part of the next; and in the afternoon we came to Bologna: So now you may wish us joy of being in the dominions of his Holinefs. This is a populous city, and of great extent: All the streets have porticoes on both sides, such as surround a part of Covent-Garden, a great relief in fummertime in fuch a climate; and from one of the principal gates to a church of the Virgin, [where is a wonder-working picture, at three miles distance | runs a corridore of the same fort, lately finished, and indeed, a most extraordinary performance. churches here are more remarkable for their paintings than architecture, being mostly old structures of brick; but the palaces are numerous, and fine enough to supply us with something worth seeing from morning till night. The country of Lombardy, hitherto, is one of the most beautiful imaginable; the roads broad, and exactly straight, and on either hand vast plantations of trees, chiefly mulberries and olives. and not a tree without a vine twining about it and foreading among its branches. This scene, indeed, which must be the most lovely in the world during the proper season, is at present all deformed by the winter, which here is rigorous enough for the time it lasts; but one still fees the skeleton of a charming place, and reaps the benefit of its product, for the fruits and provisions are admirable; in short you find every thing, that luxury can defire, in perfection. We have now been here a week, and shall stay some

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little time longer. We are at the foot of the Apennine mountains; it will take up three days to cross them, and then we shall come to Florence, where we shall pass the Christmas. Till then we must remain in a state of ignorance as to what is doing in England, for our letters are to meet us there: If I do not find four or five from you alone, I shall wonder.

## LETTER XIV:

## Mr. GRAY to his MOTHER.

Florence, Dec. 19, N. S. 1729. TE spent twelve days at Bologna, chiefly (as most travellers do) in seeing sights; for as we knew no mortal there, and as it is no easy matter to get admission into any Italian house, without very particular recommendations, we could fee no company but in public places; and there are none in that city but the churches. We faw therefore. churches, palaces, and pictures from morning to night; and on the 15th of this month fet out for Florence, and began to cross the Apennine mountains; we travelled among and upon them all that day, and as it was but indifferent weather, were commonly in the middle of thick clouds, that utterly deprived us of a fight of their beauties: For this vast chain of hills has its beauties, and all the vallies are cultivated; even the mountains themselves are many of them fo within a little of their very tops. They are not so horrid as the Alps, though pretty near as high; and the whole road is admirably well kept, and paved throughout, which is a length of fourfcore

fourscore miles and more: We left the Pope's dominions, and lay that night in those of the Grand Duke at Fiorenzuola, a paltry little town, at the foot of Mount Giogo, which is the highest of them all. Next morning we went up to it; the post-house is open upon its very top, and usually involved in clouds, or half-buried in the fnow. Indeed there was none of the last at the time we were there, but it was still a dismal habitation. The descent is most excessively steep, and the turnings very short and frequent; however we performed it without any danger, and in coming down could dimly discover Florence, and the beautiful plain about it, through the mists; but enough to convince us, it must be one of the noblest prospects upon earth in summer. That afternoon we got thither; and Mr. Mann\*, the refident, had fent his fervant to meet us at the gates, and conduct us to his house. He is the best ard most obliging person in the world. The next night we were introduced at the Prince of Craon's affembly (he has the chief power here in the Grand Duke's absence). The Princess, and he, were extremely civil to the name of Walpole, fo we were asked to flay supper, which is as much as to say, you may come and fup here whenever you please; for after the first invitation this is always understood. We have also been at the Countess Suarez's, a favourite of the late Duke, and one that gives the first movement to every thing gay that is going forward here. The news is every day expected from Vienna of the Grand Dutchess's delivery; if it be a boy, here will be all forts of balls, masquerades, operas, and illuminations; if not, we must wait for the Carnival,

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<sup>\*</sup> Now Sir Horace Mann, and Envoy Extraordinary at the fame court.

when all those things come of course. In the mean time it is impossible to want entertainment : the famous gallery, alone, is an amusement for months: we commonly pass two or three hours every morning in it, and one has perfect leisure to consider all its beauties. You know it contains many hundred antique statues, such as the whole world cannot match. besides the vast collections of paintings, medals, and precious stones, such as no other prince was ever mafter of; in fhort, all that the rich and powerful house of Medicis has in so many years got together. \* And besides this city abounds with so many places and churches, that you can hardly place yourfelf any where without having fome fine one in view, or at least some statue or fountain, magnificently adorned; thefe, undoubtedly, are far more numerous than Genoa can pretend to; yet, in its general appearance, I cannot think that Florence equals it in beauty. Mr. Walpole is just come from being prefented to the Electress Palatine Dowager; she is a fifter of the late Great Duke's; a stately old lady. that never goes out but to church, and then she has guards, and eight horses to her coach. She received him with much ceremony, standing under a huge black canopy, and, after a few minutes talking, she assured him of her good will, and dismissed him: She never fees any body but thus in form: and fo she passes her life, + poor woman! \* \* \*

Vol. I. D LET-

<sup>\*</sup> He catalogued and made occasional short remarks on the pictures, &c. which he saw here, as well as at other places; many of which are in my possession, but it would have swelled this work too much if I had inserted them.

<sup>†</sup> Persons of very high rank, and withal very good sense, will only feel the pathos of this exclamation.

#### LETTER

## Mr. GRAY to Mr. WEST.

Florence, Jan. 15, 1740.

Think I have not yet told you how we left that A charming place Genoa: How we croffed a mountain, all of green marble, called Buchetto: How we came to Tortona, and waded through the mud to come to Castel St. Giovanni, and there eat mustard and sugar with a dith of crows gizzards: Secondly how we passed the famous plains

Quà Trebie glaucas salices intersecat undâ Arvaque Romanis nobilitata malis. Visus adhucamnis veteri de clade rubere.

Et suspirantes ducere mæstus aquas ;

Maurorumque ala, & nigræ increbrescere turma, Et pulsa Ausonidum ripa sonare suga.

Nor, thirdly, how we passed through Piacenza, Parma, Modena, entered the territories of the Pope; flayed twelve days at Bologna; croffed the Appennines, and afterwards arrived at Florence. None of these things have I told you, nor do I intend to tell you, till you alk me some questions concerning them. No not even of Florence itself, except that it is as fine as possible, and has every thing in it that can bless the eyes. But, before I enter into particulars, you must make your peace both with me and the Venus de Medicis, who, let me tell you, is highly and juftly offended at you for not inquiring, long before this, concerning her symmetry and proportions. \* \* \*

# LETTER XVI.

# Mr. WEST to Mr. GRAY.

# ELEGIA.\*

RGO desidiæ videor tibi crimine dignus; Et merito: victas do tibi sponte manus. Arguor & veteres nimium contemnere Musas, Irata et nobis est Medicæa Venus. Mene igitur statuas & inania saxa vereri! Stultule! marmorea quid mihi cum Venere? Hic veræ, hic vivæ Veneres, & mille per urbem, Quarum nulla queat non placuisse Jovi. Cedite Romanæ formosæ et cedite Graiæ, Sintque oblita Helenæ nomen et Hermionæ! Et, quascunque refert ætas vetus, Heroinæ: Unus honor noftris jam venit Angliafin. Oh quales vultus, Oh quantum numen ocellis! I nunc & Tuscas improbe confer opes. Ne tamen hæc obtufa nimis præcordia credas, Neu me adeo nulla Pallade progenitum: Testor Pieridumque umbras & flumina Pindi Me quoque Calliopes semper amasse choros; Et dudum Ausonias urbes, & visere Graias Cura est, ingenio si licet ire meo: Sive est Phidiacum marmor, seu Mentoris æra, Seu paries Coo nobilis e calamo; Nec minus artificum magna argumenta recentum Romanique decus nominis & Veneti: Quà Furor & Mayors & fævo in Marmore vultus, Quaque et formoso mollior ære Venus. Quaque loquax spirat fucus, vivique labores,

<sup>\*</sup> The letter which accompanied this little elegy is not extant. Probably it was only inclosed in one to Mr. Walpole.

Et quicquid calamo dulciùs ausa manus:
Hic nemora, & sola mærens Melibæus in umbrâ,
Lymphaque muscoso prosiliens lapide;
Illic majus opus, faciesque in pariete major
Exurgens, Divûm & numina Cœlicolûm;
O vos sælices, quibus hæc cognoscere sas est,
Et tota Italia, qua patet usque, frui!
Nulla dies vobis eat injucunda, nec usquam
Norîtis quid sit tempora amara pati.

#### LETTER XVII.

Mr. GRAY to his MOTHER.

Florence, March 19, 1740. HE Pope \* is at last dead, and we are to set out for Rome on Monday next. The Conclave is still fitting there, and likely to continue fo fome time longer, as the two French Cardinals are but just arrived, and the German ones are still ex-It agrees mighty ill with those that remain inclosed; Ottoboni is already dead of an apoplexy; Altieri and feveral others are faid to be dying, or very bad : Yet it is not expected to break up till after Easter. We shall lie at Sienna the first night, fpend a day there, and in two more get to Rome. One begins to see in this country the first promises of an Italian spring, clear unclouded skies, and warm funs, fuch as are not often felt in England; yet, for your fake, I hope at present you have your proportion of them, and that all your frosts, and snows, and short-breaths are, by this time, utterly vanished. I have nothing new or par-

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<sup>\*</sup> Clement the twelfth,

home go on much in their old course, you must not imagine them more various abroad. The diversions of a Florentine Lent are composed of a sermon in the morning, sull of hell and the devil; a dinner at noon, sull of sish and meager diet; and, in the evening, what is called a Conversazione, a fort of assembly at the principal people's houses, sull of I cannot tell what: Besides this, there is twice a week a very grand concert. \*\*\*

# LETTER XVIII.

Mr. GRAY to his MOTHER.

Rome, April 2, N. S. 1740. HIS is the third day fince we came to Rome, but the first hour I have had to write to you in. The journey from Florence cost us four days, one of which was fpent at Sienna, an agreeable, clean, old city, of no great magnificence, or extent; but in a fine fituation, and good air. What it has most confiderable is its cathedral, a huge pile of marble, black and white laid alternately, and laboured with a gothic niceness and delicacy in the old-fashioned way. Within too are some paintings and sculpture of considerable hands. The fight of this, and some collections that were showed us in private houses, were a fufficient employment for the little time we were to pass there; and the next morning we set forward on our journey through a country very oddly composed; for some miles you have a continual scene of little mountains cultivated from top to bottom with rows of olive-trees, or elfe elms, each of which has its vine twining about it and mixing, with the branches; and corn fown between all the ranks.

D<sub>3</sub> This,

This divertified with numerous fmall houses and convents, makes the most agreeable prospect in the world: But all of a fudden, it alters to black barren hills, as far as the eye can reach, that feem never to have been capable of culture, and are as ugly as useless. Such is the country for some time before one comes to Mount Radicofani, a terrrible black hill, on the top of which we were to lodge that night. It is very high, and difficult of afcent; and at the foot of it we were much embarrassed by the fall of one of the poor horses that drew us. accident obliged another chaife, which was coming down, to stop also; and out of it peeped a figure in a red cloak, with a handkerchief tied round its head, which by its voice and mien, seemed a fat old woman; but, upon its getting out, appeared to be Senefino, who was returning, from Naples to Sienna, the place of his birth and residence. On the highest part of the mountain is an old fortress, and near it a house built by one of the Grand Dukes for a hunting-feat, but now converted into an inn: It is the shell of a large fabric, but such an inside, fuch chambers, and accommodations, that your cellar is a palace in comparison; and your cat sups and lies much better than we did; for, it being a faint's eve, there were nothing but eggs. We devoured our meager fare; and, after stopping up the windows with the quilts, were obliged to lie upon straw beds in our clothes. Such are the conveniences in a road, that is, as it were, the great thoroughfare of all the world. Just on the other fide of this mountain, at Ponte-Centino, one enters the patrimony of the church; a most delicious country, but thinly inhabited. That night brought us to Viterbo, a city of a more lively appearance than any we had lately met with; the houses have glass

glass windows, which is not very usual here, and most of the streets are terminated by a handsome fountain. Here we had the pleasure of breaking our fast on the leg of an old hare and some broiled crows. Next morning, in defcending Mount Viterbo, we first discovered (though at near thirty miles distance) the cupola of St. Peter's, and a little after began to enter on an old Roman pavement, with now and then a ruined tower, or a sepulchre on each hand. We now had a clear view of the city. though not to the best advantage, as coming along a plain quite upon a level with it; however, it appeared very vaft, and furrounded with magnificent villas and gardens. We foon after crossed the Tiber, a river that ancient Rome made more considerable than any merit of its own could have done: However, it is not contemptibly small, but a good handsome stream; very deep, yet somewhat of a muddy complexion. The first entrance of Rome is prodigiously striking. It is by a noble gate, defigned by Michel Angelo, and adorned with statues : this brings you into a large fquare, in the midft of which is a valt obelik of granite, and in front you have at one view two churches of a handfome architecture, and fo much alike that they are called the twins; with three freets, the middlemost of which is one of the longest in Rome. As high as my expectation was raised, I confess, the magnificence of this city infinitely furpasses it. You cannot pass along a street but you have views of some palace or church, or square, or fountain, the most picturesque and noble one can imagine. not yet fet about considering its beauties, ancient and modern, with attention; but have already taken a slight transient view of some of the most remarkable. St. Peter's I faw the day after we ar-D 4 rived.

rived, and was struck dumb with wonder. I there faw the Cardinal d'Auvergne, one of the French ones, who, upon coming off his journey, immediately repaired hither to offer up his vows at the high altar, and went directly into the Conclave; the doors of which we faw opened to him, and all the other immured Cardinals came hither to receive him. Upon his entrance they were closed again directly. It is supposed they will not come to an agreement about a Pope till after Easter, though the confinement is very disagreeable. I have hardly philosophy enough to see the infinity of fine things, that are here daily in the power of any body that has money, without regretting the want of it; but custom has the power of making things easy to one. I have not yet feen his majesty of Great-Britain, &c. though I have the two boys in the gardens of the Villa Borgese, where they go a-shooting almost every day; it was at a distance, indeed, for we did not choose to meet them, as you may imagine, This letter (like all those the English send, or receive) will pass through the hand of that family, before it comes to those it was intended for. They do it more honour than it deserves; and all they will learn from thence will be, that I defire you to give my duty to my father, and wherever elfe it is due, and that I am, &c.

#### LETTER XIX.

#### Mr. GRAY to his MOTHER.

Rome, April 15, 1740. Good-Friday. O-DAY I am just coming from paying my adoration at St. Peter's to three extraordinary reliques, which are exposed to public view only on thefe two days in the whole year, at which time all the confraternities in the city come in procession to fee them. It was fomething extremely novel to fee that vast church, and the most magnificent in the world, undoubtedly, illuminated (for it was night) by thousands of little crystal lamps, disposed in the figure of a huge cross at the high altar, and seeming to hang alone in the air. All the light proceeded from this; and had the most singular effect imaginable as one entered the great door. Soon after came one after another, I believe, thirty processions, all dreffed in linen frocks, and girt with a cord, their heads covered with a cowl all over, only two holes to fee through left. Some of them were all black, others red, others white, others party-coloured; these were continually coming and going with their tapers and crucifixes before them; and to each company, as they arrived and knelt before the great altar, were shown from a balcony at a great height the three wonders, which are, you must know, the head of the spear that wounded Christ; St. Veronica's handkerchief, with the miraculous impression of his face upon it; and a piece of the true cross. on the fight of which the people thump their breafts and kiss the pavement with vast devotion. The tragical part of the ceremony is half a dozen wretched creatures, who with their faces covered, but

naked

naked to the waist, are in a side chapel disciplining themselves with scourges sull of iron prickles; but really in earnest, as our eyes can testify, which saw their backs and arms so raw we should have taken it for a red sattin doublet torn, and shewing the skin through, had we not been convinced of the contrary by the blood which was plentifully sprinkled about them. It is late; I give you joy of Porto Bello, and many other things, which I hope are all true. \* \* \* \*

### LETTER XX.

## Mr. GRAY to Mr. WEST.

Tivoli, May 20, 1740.

HIS day being in the palace of his Highness the Duke of Modena, he laid his most ferene commands upon me to write to Mr. West, and faid he thought it for his glory, that I should draw up an inventory of all his most serene possessions for the faid West's perusal, -- Imprimis, a house, being in circumference a quarter of a mile, two feet and an inch; the faid house containing the following particulars, to wit, a great room. Item. another great room; item a bigger room; item another room; item a vast room; item a fixth of the fame; a seventh ditto; an eighth as before; a ninth as abovefaid; a tenth (fee No. 1); item, ten more fuch, besides twenty besides, which, not to be too particular, we shall pass over. The faid rooms containing nine chairs, two tables, five stools, and a cricket. From whence we shall proceed to the garden, containing two millions of superfine laurel hedges, a clump of cypress trees, and half the river

river Teverone, that pilles into two thousand several chamber pots. Finis-Dame Nature defired me to put in a lift of her little goods and chattels, and, as they were small, to be very minute about them. She has built here three or four little mountains, and laid them out in an irregular femi-circle; from certain others behind, at a greater distance, she has drawn a canal, into which the has put a little river of her's called Anio; she has cut a huge cleft between the two innermost of her four hills, and there the has left it to its own disposal; which she has no fooner done, but, like a heedless chit, it tumbles headlong down a declivity fifty feet perpendicular, breaks itself all to shatters, and is converted into a shower of rain, where the sun forms many a bow, red, green, blue and yellow. To get out of our metaphors without any further trouble, it is the most noble fight in the world. The weight of that quantity of waters, and the force they fall with, have worn the rocks they throw themselves among into a thousand irregular craggs, and to a vast depth. In this channel it goes boiling along with a mighty noise till it comes to another steep, where you see it a fecond time come roaring down (but first you must walk two miles farther) a greater height than before, but not with that quantity of waters; for by this time it has divided itself, being croffed and opposed by the rocks, into four several streams, each of which, in emulation of the great one, will tumble down too, and it does tumble down, but not from an equally elevated place; fo that you have at one view all these cascades intermixed with groves of olive and little woods, the mountains rifing behind. them, and on the top of one (that which forms the extremity of one of the half-circle's horns) is feated the town itself. At the very extremity of that extremity, on the brink of the precipice, stands the Sybilis

Sybils' temple, the remains of a little rotunda, surrounded with its portico, above half of whose beautiful Corinthian pillars are still standing and entire; all this on one hand. On the other the open Campagna of Rome, here and there a little castle on a hillock, and the city itself on the very brink of the horizon, indistinctly seen (being eighteen miles off) except the dome of St. Peter's; which, if you look out of your window, wherever you are, I suppose, you can see. I did not tell you that a little below the first fall, on the side of the rock, and hanging over that torrent, are little ruins which they show you for Horace's house, a curious situation to observe the

" Præceps Anio, & Tiburni lucus, & uda

" Mobilibus pomaria rivis."

Mæcenas did not care for fuch noise, it seems, and built him a house (which they also carry one to see) fo fituated that it fees nothing at all of the matter, and for any thing he knew there might be no fuch river in the world. Horace had another house on the other side of the Teverone, opposite to Mæcenas's: and they told us there was a bridge of communication, by which "andava il detto Signor per trastullarsi coll istesso Orazio." In coming hither we croffed the Aquæ Albulæ, a vile little brook that stinks like a fury, and they fay it has stunk so these thousand years. I forgot the Piscina of Quintilius Varus, where he used to keep certain little fishes. This is very entire, and there is a piece of the aqueduct that supplied it too; in the garden below is old Rome, built in little, just as it was, they fay. There are seven temples in it, and no houses at all: They fay there were none. May

We have had the pleasure of going twelve miles out of our way to Palestrina. It has rained all day as if heaven and us were coming together. See my honesty, I do not mention a syllable of the temple of Fortune, because I really did not see it; which, I think, is pretty well for an old traveller. So we returned along the Via Prænestina, saw the Lacus Gabinus and Regillus, where you know, Castor and Pollux appeared upon a certain occasion. And many a good old tomb we lest on each hand, and many an Aqueduct,

Dumb are whose fountains, and their channels dry. There are, indeed, two whole modern ones, works of Popes, that run about thirty miles a-piece in length; one of them conveys still the samous Aqua Virgo to Rome, and adds vast beauty to the prospect. So we came to Rome again, where waited for us a splendissimo regalo of letters; in one of which came You, with your huge characters and wide intervals, staring. I would have you to know, I expect you should take a handsome crow-quill when you write to me, and not leave room for a pin's point in sour sides of a sheet royal. Do you but find matter, I will find spectacles.

I have more time than I thought, and I will employ it in telling you about a Ball that we were at the other evening. Figure to yourfelf a Roman villa; all its little apartments thrown open, and lighted up to the best advantage. At the upper end of the gallery, a fine concert, in which La Diamantina, a samous virtuosa, played on the violin divinely, and sung angelically; Giovannino and Pasqualini (great names in musical story) also performed miraculously. On each side were ranged all the secular grand monde of Rome, the Ambassadors, Princesses, and

all that. Among the rest II Serenissimo Pretendente (as the Mantova gazette calls him) displayed his rueful length of person, with his two young ones, and all his ministry around him. "Poi naque un grazioso ballo," where the world danced, and I sat in a corner regaling myself with ited fruits, and other pleasant rinfrescatives.

### LETTER XXI.

Mr. GRAY to Mr. WEST.

Rome, May 1740.

ATER rofarum, cui teneræ vigent Auræ Favonî, cui Venus it comes Lasciva, Nympharum choreis Et volucrum celebrata cantu! Dic, non inertem fallere quâ diem Amat sub umbra, seu finit aureum Dormire plectrum, seu retentat Pierio \* Zephyrinus antro Furore dulci plenus, & immemor Reptantis inter frigora Tusculi Umbrosa, vel colles Amici Palladiæ superantis Albæ... Dilecta Fauno, & capripedum choris Pineta, testor vos. Anio minax Quæcunque per clivos volutus Præcipiti tremefecit amne, Illius altum Tibur, & Æfulæ Audisse sylvas nomen amabiles,

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<sup>\*</sup> He intitled this charming ode "Ad C. Favonium Zephyrinum," and writ it immediately after his journey to Frescati and the cascades of Tivoli, which he describes in the preceding letter.

Illius & gratas Latinis Naiafin ingeminaffe rupes : Nam me Latinæ Naiades uvida Vidêre ripă, qua niveas levi Tam fæpe lavit rore plumas Dulce canens Venufinus ales : Mirum! canenti conticuit nemus, Sacrique fontes, et retinent adhuc (Sic Musa justit) saxa molles Docta modes, veteresque lauri. Mirare nec tu me citharæ rudem Claudis laborantem numeris: loca Amana, jucundumque ver in--compositum docuere carmen ; Hærent sub omni nam folio nigri Phœbea luci (credite) fomnia, Argutiúsque et lympha et auræ Nefcio quid folito loquuntur.

I am to day just returned from Alba, a good deal fatigued; for you know the Appian is somewhat tiresome. \* We dined at Pompey's; he indeed was gone for a few days to his Tusculan, but, by the care of his Villicus, we made an admirable meal. We had the dugs of a pregnant sow, a peacock, a dish of thrushes, a noble scarus just fresh from the Tyrrhene, and some conchylia of the Lake with

<sup>\*</sup> However whimfical this humour may appear to some readers, I chose to insert it, as it gives me an opportunity of remarking that Mr. Gray was extremely skilled in the customs of the ancient Romans; and has catalogued, in his commonplace book, their various eatables, wines, perfumes, cloaths, medicines, &c. with great precision, referring under every article to passages in the Poets and Historians where their names are mentioned.

garum fauce: For my part I never eat better at Lucullus's table. We drank half a dozen cyathi a-piece of ancient Alban to Pholoë's health; and, after bathing, and playing an hour at ball, we mounted our effedum again, and proceeded up the mount to the temple. The priests there entertained us with an account of a wonderful shower of birds eggs, that had fallen two days before, which had no fooner touched the ground, but they were converted into gudgeons; as also that the night past a dreadful voice had been heard out of the Advtum, which spoke Greek during a full half hour, but no body understood it. But quitting my Romanities, to your great joy and mine, let me tell you, in plain English, that we come from Albano. The present town lies within the inclosure of Pompey's Villa in ruins. The Appian way runs through it, by the fide of which, a little farther, is a large old tomb, with five pyramids upon it, which the learned suppose to be the burying-place of the family. because they do not know whose it can be else. But the vulgar affure you it is the sepulchre of the Curiatii, and by that name (fuch is their power) it goes. One drives to Castel Gondolfo, a house of the Pope's, fituated on the top of one of the Collinette, that forms a brim to the bason, commonly called the Alban lake. It is feven miles round; and directly opposite to you, on the other side, rises the Mons Albanus, much taller than the rest, along whose side are still discoverable (not to common eyes) certain little ruins of the old Alba longa. They had need be very little, as having been nothing but ruins ever fince the days of Tullius Hostilius. On its top is a house of the Constable Collonna's, where stood the temple of Jupiter Latialis. At the foot of the hill Gondolfo, are the famous outlets of the lake, built, with

with hewn stone, a mile and an half under ground. Livy, you know, amply informs us of the foolish occasion of this expence, and gives me this opportunity of displaying all my erudition, that I may appear confiderable in your eyes. This is the prospect from one window of the palace. From another you have the whole Campagna, the City Antium, and the Tyrrhene sea (twelve miles distant) so distinguishable, that you may fee the veffels failing upon it. All this is charming. Mr. Walpole fays, our memory fees more than our eyes in this country. Which is extremely true; fince for realities, Windfor, or Richmond Hill, is infinitely preferable to Albano or Frescati. I am now at home, and going to the window to tell you it is the most beautiful of Italian nights, which, are but just begun (so backward has the spring been here, and every where elfe, they fay). There is a moon! there are stars for you! Do not you hear the fountain? Do not you fmell the orange flowers? That building yonder is the Convent of S. Isidore; and that eminence, with the cypress trees and pines upon it, the top of M. Quirinal. This is all true, and yet my prospect is not two hundred yards in length. We fend you some Roman inscriptions to entertain you. The first two are modern. transcribed from the Vatican library by Mr. Walpole.

Pontifices olim quem fundavere priores,
Præcipuâ Sixtus perficit arte tholum;
Et Sixti tantum se g'oria tollit in altum,
Quantum se Sixti nobile tollit opus:
Magnus honos magni sundamina ponere templi,
Sed finem cæptis ponere major honos.

<sup>\*</sup> Sixtus V. built the dome of St. Peter's.

Saxa agit Amphion, Thebana ut mænia condat:
Sixtus & immensæ pondera molis agit. \*
Saxa trahunt ambo longé diversa: sed arte
Hæc trahit Amphion; Sixtus & arte trahit.
At tantum exsuperat Dircæum Amphiona Sixtus,
Quantum hic exsuperat cætera saxa lapis.

Mine is ancient, and I think not less curious. It is exactly transcribed from a sepulchral marble at the villa Giustiniani. I put stops to it, when I understand it.

DIs Manibus Claudiæ, Pistes Primus Conjugi Optumae, Sanctæ, Et Piae, Benemeritate.

Non æquos, Parcae, statuistis stamina vitae.

Tam bene compositos potuistis sede tenere,
Amissa est conjux, cur ego & ipse moror?

Si bella esse mi iste mea vivere debuit.

Tristia contigerunt qui amissa conjuge vivo.

Nil est tam miserum, quam totam perdere vitam.

Nec vita enasci dura peregistis crudelia pensa, sorores,
Ruptaque desiciunt in primo munere sus.

O nimis injustæ ter denos dare munus in annos,
Deceptus grautus fatum sic pressit egestas

Dum vitam tulero, Primus Pistes lugea conjugium.

<sup>\*</sup> He raifed the obelisk in the great area.

# LETTER XXII.

#### Mr. GRAY to his MOTHER.

Naples, June 17, 1740.

UR journey hither was through the most beautiful part of the finest country in the world; and every spot of it, on some account or other, famous for these three thousand years past \*. The feason has hitherto been just as warm as one would wish it; no unwholesome airs, or violent heats, yet heard of: The people call it a backward year, and are in pain about their corn, wine, and oil; but we who are neither corn, wine, nor oil, find it very agreeable. Our road was through Velletri, Cifterna, Terracina, Capua, and Aversa, and so to Naples. The minute one leaves his Holines's dominions, the face of things begins to change from wide uncultivated plains to olive groves and well-tilled fields of corn intermixed with ranks of elms, every one of which has its vine twining about it, and hanging in festoons between the rows from one tree to another. The great old fig-trees, the oranges in full bloom, and myrtles in every hedge, make one of the delightfullest scenes you can conceive; besides that, the roads are wide, well-kept, and full of paffen-

Mr. Gray writ a minute description of every thing he saw in this tour from Rome to Naples; as also of the environs of Rome, Florence, &c. But as these papers are apparently only memorandums for his own use, I do not think it necessary to print them, although they abound with many uncommon remarks, and pertinent classical quotations. The reader will please to observe throughout this section, that it is not my intention to give him Mr. Gray's Travels, but only extracts from the Letters which he writ during his travels.

gers, a fight I have not beheld this long time. My wonder still increased upon entering the city, which I think, for number of people, outdoes both Paris and London. The freets are one continued market. and thronged with populace fo much that a coach can hardly pass. The common fort are a jolly lively kind of animals, more industrious than Italians usually are; they work till evening; then they take their lute or guitar (for they all play) and walk about the city, or upon the fea-shore with it, to enjoy the fresco. One sees their little brown children jumping about stark-naked, and the bigger ones dancing with castanets, while others play on the cymbal to them. Your maps will show you the fituation of Naples: it is on the most levely bay in the world, and one of the calmest feas: It has many other beauties besides those of Nature. We have fpent two days in vifiting the remarkable places in the country round it, fuch as the bay of Baiæ, and its remains of antiquity; the lake Avernus, and the Solfatara, Charon's grotto, &c. We have been in the Sybils' cave and many other strange holes underground (I only name them, because you may confult Sandys's travels); but the strangest hole I ever was in, has been to-day at a place called Portici, where his Sicilian Majesty has a country-seat, bout a year ago, as they were digging, they discovered some parts of ancient buildings about thirty feet deep in the ground: Curiofity led them on, and they have been digging ever fince; the passage they have made, with all its turnings and windings, is now more than a mile long. As you walk, you fee parts of an amphitheatre, many houses adorned with marble columns, and incrusted with the same; the front of a remple, feveral arched vaults of rooms painted in fresco. Some pieces of painting have been been taken out from hence, finer than any thing of the kind before discovered, and with these the King has adorned his palace; also a number of statues. medals, and gems; and more are dug out every day. This is known to be a Roman town \*, that in the Emperor Titus's time was overwhelmed by a furious eruption of Mount Vesuvius, which is hard by. The wood and beams remain so perfect that you may fee the grain; but burnt to a coal, and dropping into dust upon the least touch. We were to-day at the foot of that mountain, which at prefent only fmokes a little, where we faw the materials that fed the stream of fire, which about four years fince ran down its fide. We have but a few days longer to ftay here; too little in conscience for fuch a place. \* \* \*

# LETTER XXIII.

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# Mr. GRAY to his FATHER.

Florence, July 16, 1740.

A T my return to this city, the day before yesterday, I had the pleasure of finding yours dated June the 9th. The period of our voyages, at least towards the south, is come, as you wish. We have been at Naples, spent nine or ten days there, and returned to Rome, where finding no likelihood of a Pope yet these three months, and quite wearied with the formal assemblies, and little society of that great city, Mr. Walpole determined to return hither to spend the summer, where he imagines he

<sup>\*</sup> It should seem by the omission of its name, that it was not then discovered to be Herculaneum.

shall pass his time more agreeably than in the tedious expectation of what, when it happens, will only be a great flow. For my own part, I give up the thoughts of all that with but little regret; but the city itself I do not part with so easily, which alone has amusements for whole years. However, I have passed through all that most people do, both ancient and modern; what that is you may fee, better than I can tell you, in a thousand books. The Conclave we left in greater uncertainty than ever; the more than ordinary liberty they enjoy there, and the fual coolness of the season, makes the confinement less disagreeable to them than common, and, consequently, maintains them in their irrefolution. There have been very high words, one or two (it is faid) have come even to blows; two more are dead within this last month. Cenci and Portia: the latter died diffracted; and we left another (Altieri) at the extremity: Yet nobody dreams of an election till the latter end of September. All this gives great scandal to all good catholics, and every body talks very freely on the subject. The Pretender (whom you defire an account of) I have had frequent opportunities of feeing at church, at the corfo, and other places; but more particularly, and that for a whole night, at a great ball given by Count Patrizii to the Prince and Princess Craon, (who were come to Rome at that time, that he might receive from the hands of the Emperor's minister there the order of the golden fleece) at which time he and his two fons were present. They are good fine boys, especially the younger, who has the more spirit of the two, and both danced inceffantly all night long. For him he is a thin ill-made man, extremely tall and awkward, of a most unpromising countenance, a good deal refembling King James the Second, and has extremely the

the air and look of an idiot, particularly when he laughs or prays. The first he does not often, the latter continually. He lives private enough with his little court about him, confisting of Lord Dunbar, who manages every thing, and two or three of the Preston Scotch Lords, who would be very glad to make their peace at home.

We happened to be at Naples on Corpus Christi Day, the greatest feast in the year, so had an opportunity of seeing their Sicilian Majesties to advantage. The King walked in the grand procession, and the Queen (being big with child) sat in a balcony. He followed the Host to the church of St. Clara, where high mass was celebrated to a glorious concert of music. They are as ugly a little pair as one can see: She a pale girl, marked with the small-pox; and he a brown boy with a thin sace, a huge nose, and as ungainly as possible.

We are fettled here with Mr. Mann in a charming apartment: the river Arno runs under our windows, which we can fish out of. The sky is so ferene, and the air fo temperate, that one continues in the open air all night long in a flight nightgown without any danger; and the marble bridge is the refort of every body, where they hear music, eat iced fruits, and sup by moon-light; though as yet (the feafon being extremely backward every where) these amusements are not begun. You see we are now coming northward again, though in no great haste; the Venetian and Milanese territories, and either Germany or the South of France (according to the turn the war may take) are all that remain for us, that we have not yet feen; as to Loretto and that part of Italy, we have given over all thoughts of it.

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# LETTER XXIV.

### Mr. WEST to Mr. GRAY.

Bond-freet, June 5, 1740. T Lived at the Temple till I was fick of it: I have I just left it, and find myself as much a lawyer as I was when I was in it. It is certain, at least, I may study the law here as well as I could there. being in chambers did not fignify to me a pinch of fnuff. They tell me my father was a lawyer, and. as you know, eminent in the profession; and such a circumstance must be of advantage to me. My uncle too makes fome figure in Westminster hall; and there's another advantage : Then my grandfather's name would get me many friends. Is it not strange that a young fellow, that might enter the world with fo many advantages, will not know his own interest? &c. &c .- What shall I say in answer to all this? For money, I neither doat upon it nor defpife it; it is a necessary stuff enough. For ambition, I do not want that neither; but it is not to fit upon a bench. In short, is it not a disagreeable thing to force one's inclination, especially when one's young? not to mention that one ought to have the strength of a Hercules to go through our common law; which, I am afraid, I have not. Well! but then, fay they, if one profession does not suit you, you may choose another more to your inclination. Now I protest I do not yet know my own inclination, and I believe, if that was to be my direction, A should never fix at all: There is no going by a weathercock. I could fay much more upon this fubject; but there is no talking tête-à-tête cross the Alps. O the folly of young men, that never know their

their own interest! they never grow wife till they are ruined ! and then nobody pities them, nor helps them. Dear Gray! consider me in the condition of one that has lived these two years without any perfon that he can freely speak to. I know it is very feldom that people trouble themselves with the sentiments of those they converse with; so they can chat about trifles, they never eare whether your heart aches or no. Are you one of these? I think not. But what right have I to ask you this question? Have we known one another enough, that I should expect or demand fincerity from you? Yes, Gray, I hope we have; and I have not quite fuch a mean. opinion of myself, as to think I do not deserve it .-But, Signor, is it not time for me to alk something about your further intentions abroad? Where do you propose going next? an in Apuliam? nam illo si adveneris, tanquam Ulysses, cognosces tuorum neminem. Vale. So Cicero prophesies in the end of one of his letters \*- and there I end.

Yours, &c.

### LETTER XXV.

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Mr. GRAY to Mr. WEST.

Florence, July 16, 1740.

You do yourself and me justice, in imagining that you merit, and that I am capable of sincerity. I have not a thought, or even a weakness, Vol. I.

E I desire

<sup>\*</sup>This letter (written apparently in much agitation of mind, which Mr. West endeavours to conceal by an unusual carelessness of manner) is chiefly inserted to introduce the answer

I desire to conceal from you; and consequently on my fide deserve to be treated with the same openness My vanity perhaps might make me more of heart. referved towards you, if you were one of the heroic race, superior to all human failings; but as mutual wants are the ties of general fociety, fo are mutual weaknesses of private friendships, supposing them mixt with some proportion of good qualities; for where one may not fometimes blame, one does not much care ever to praise. All this has the air of an introduction defigned to fosten a very harth reproof that is to follow; but it is no fuch matter: I only meant to ask, Why did you change your lodging? Was the air bad, or the fituation melancholy? If fo, you are quite right. Only, is it not putting yourself a little out of the way of a people, with whom it feems necessary to keep up some fort of intercourse and conversation, though but little for your pleasure or entertainment, (yet there are, I believe, fuch among them as might give you both) at least for your information in that study, which, when I left you, you thought of applying to? for that there is a certain study necessary to be followed, if we mean to be of any use in the world. I take for granted; disagreeable enough (as most necessities are) but, I am afraid, unavoidable. Into how many branches these studies are divided in England, every body knows; and between that which you and I had pitched upon, and the other two, it was impossible to balance long. Examples shew one that it is not absolutely necessary to be a blockhead to

answer to it; which appears to me to be replete with delicate feeling, manly sense, and epistolary ease. If the reader should think as highly of it as I do, let me remind him that the writer was not now quite sour and twenty years old.

fucceed in this profession. The labour is long, and the elements dry and unentertaining; nor was ever any body (especially those that afterwards made a figure in it) amused, or even not disgusted in the beginning; yet, upon a further acquaintance, there is furely matter for curiofity and reflection. strange if, among all that huge mass of words, there be not fomewhat intermixed for thought. Laws have been the refult of long deliberation, and that not of dull men, but the contrary; and have fo close a connection with history, nay, with philosophy itself, that they must partake a little of what they are related to so nearly. Besides, tell me, Have you ever made the attempt? Was not you frighted merely with the distant prospect? Had the Gothic character and bulkiness of those volumes (a tenth part of which it will be no further necessary to consult, than as one does a dictionary) no ill effect upon your eye? Are you fure, if Coke had been printed by Elzevir, and bound in twenty neat pocket volumes, instead of one folio, you should never have taken him up for an hour, as you would a Tully, or drank your tea over him? I know how great an obstacle ill spirits are to resolution. Do you really think, if you rid ten miles every morning, in a weeks time you should not entertain much stronger hopes of the Chancellorship, and think it a much more probable thing than you do at present? The advantages you mention are not nothing; our inclinations are more than we imagine in our own power; reason and resolution determine them, and support under many difficulties. To me there hardly appears to be any medium between a public life and a private one; he who prefers the first, must put himself in a way of being ferviceable to the rest of mankind, if he has a mind to be of any consequence among them: Nay, he E 2 muft

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must not refuse being in a certain degree even demendent upon fome men who already are fo. If he has the good fortune to light on fuch as will make no ill use of his humility, there is no shame in this: If not, his ambition ought to give place to a reasonable pride, and he should apply to the cultivation of his own mind those abilities which he has not been permitted to use for others' service. a private happiness (supposing a small competence of fortune) is almost always in one's power, and the proper enjoyment of age, as the other is the employment of youth. You are yet young, have fome advantages and opportunities, and an undoubted capacity, which you have never yet put to the trial. Set apart a few hours, fee how the first year will agree with you, at the end of it you are still the master; if you change your mind, you will only have got the knowledge of a little fomewhat that can do no hurt, or give you cause of repentance. If your inclinations be not fixed upon any thing elfe, it is a symptom that you are not absolutely determined against this, and warns you not to mistake mere indolence for inability. I am fenfible there is nothing stronger against what I would perfuade you to, than my own practice; which may make you imagine I think not as I speak. Alas! it is not so; but I do not act what I think, and I had rather be the object of your pity, than that you should be that of mine; and, be affured, the advantage I may receive from it. does not diminish my concern in hearing you want somebody to converse with freely, whose advice might be of more weight, and always at hand. We have some time since come to the southern period of our voyages; we spent about nine days at Naples. It is the largest and most populous city, as its environs are the most deliciously fertile country, of all Italy. We

We sailed in the bay of Baiæ, sweated in the Solfatara, and died in the grotto del Cane, as all strangers do: saw the Corpus Christi procession, and the King and the Queen, and the city under-ground, (which is a wonder I reserve to tell you of another time) and so returned to Rome for another fortnight; left it (left Rome!) and came hither for the summer. You have seen \* an Epistle to Mr. Ashton, that seems to me sull of spirit and thought, and a good deal of poetic fire. I would know your opinion. Now I talk of verses, Mr. Walpole and I have frequently wondered you should never mention a certain imitation of Spencer, published last year by a † namesake of yours, with which we are all enraptured and enmaryailed.

#### LETTER XXVI.

# Mr. GRAY to his MOTHER.

Florence, Aug. 21, N. S. 1740.

IT is some time since I have had the pleasure of writing to you, having been upon a little excursion cross the mountains to Bologna. We set out from hence at sunset, passed the Apennines by moon-light, travelling incessantly till we came to Bologna at sour in the afternoon next day. There we spent a week agreeably enough, and returned as we came. The day before yesterday arrived the news of a Pope; and I have the mortification of

† Gilbert West, Esq; This poem "On the abuse of Travelling" is also in Dodssey's Miscellany.

<sup>\*</sup>The reader will find this in Dodfley's Miscellany, and also amongst Mr. Walpole's Fugitive Pieces.

being within four days journey of Rome, and not feeing his coronation, the heats being violent, and the infectious air now at its height. We had an instance, the other day, that it is not only fancy. Two country fellows, ftrong men, and used to the country about Rome, having occasion to come from thence hither, and travelling on foot, as common with them, one died suddenly on the road; the other got hither, but extremely weak, and in a manner stupid; he was carried to the hospital, but died in two days. So, between fear and laziness, we remain here, and must be satisfied with the accounts other people give us of the matter. The new Pope is called Benedict XIV. being created Cardinal by Benedict XIII. the last Pope but one. His name is Lambertini, a noble Bolognese, and archbishop of that city. When I was first there, I remember to have feen him two or three times: he is a short, fat man, about fixty-five years of age, of a hearty, merry countenance, and likely to live some years. He bears a good character for generosity, affability, and other virtues; and, they fay, wants neither knowledge nor capacity. The worst side of him is, that he has a nephew or two : besides a certain young favorite, called Melara, who is faid to have had, for some time, the arbitrary disposal of his purse and family. He is reported to have made a little speech to the Cardinals in the Conclave, while they were undetermined about an election, as follows: " Most eminent Lords here are three Bolog-" nese of different characters, but all equally pro-" per for the popedom. If it be your pleasures, to " pitch upon a faint, there is Cardinal Gotti; if " upon a Politician, there is Aldrovandi; if upon " a Booby, here am I." The Italian is much more expressive, and, indeed, not to be translated; wherefore

wherefore, if you meet with any body that understands it, you may show them what he said in the language he spoke it. "Eminstimi. Sigri. Oi siamo " tré, diversi sì, mà tutti idonei al Papato. Se vi " piace un Santo, c' è l'Gotti; se volete una testa " scaltra, e Politica, c' è l'Aldrovandé; se un " Coglione, eccomi !" Cardinal Coscia is restored to his liberty, and, it is faid, will be to all his benefices. Corsini (the late Pope's nephew) as he has no hand in this election, it is hoped, will be called to account for all his villainous practices. The pretender, they fay, has refigned all his pretentions to his eldest boy, and will accept of the Grand Chancellorship, which is thirty thousand crowns a-year; the pension he has at present is only twenty thoufand. I do not affirm the truth of this last article: because, if he does, it is necessary he should take the ecclefiaftical habit, and it will found mighty odd to be called his Majesty the Chancellor. - So ends my Gazette.

### LETTER XXVII.

Mr. GRAY to Mr. WEST.

Florence, Sept. 25, N. S. 1740.

WHAT I fend you now, as long as it is, is but a piece of a poem. It has the advantage of all fragments, to need neither introduction nor conclusion: Besides, if you do not like it, it is but imagining that which went before, and came after, to be infinitely better. Look in Sandys's tra-

vels for the history of Monte Barbaro, and Monte Nuovo. \*

Nec procul infelix se tollit in æthera Gaurus, Prospiciens vitreum lugenti vertice pontum: Tristior ille diu, & veteri desuetus olivâ Gaurus, pampineæque eheu jam nescius umbræ; Horrendi tam sæva premit vicinia montis, Attonitumque urget latus, exuritque serentem.

Nam

\* To save the reader trouble, I here insert the passage referred to .- " West of Cicero's Villa stands the eminent Gaurue, a stony and desolate mountain, in which there are diverse obscure caverns, chosked almost with earth, where many have confumed much fruitless industry in searching for treafure. The famous Lucrine Lake extended formerly from Avernus to the aforesaid Gaurus: But is now no other than a little fedgy plash, choaked up by the horrible and astonishing eruption of the new mountain; whereof, as oft as I think, I am easy to credit whatsoever is wonderful. For who here knows not, or who elsewhere will believe, that a mountain should arise, (partly out of a lake and partly out of the fea) in one day and a night, unto fuch a height as to contend in altitude with the high mountains adjoining? In the year of our Lord 1538, on the 29th of September, when for certain days foregoing the country hereabout was fo vexed with perpetual earthquakes, as no one house was left so entire as not to expect an immediate ruin; after that the fea had retired two hundred paces from the shore, (leaving abundance of fish, and springs of fresh water rising in the bottom) this mountain visibly ascended, about the second hour of the night, with an hideous roaring, horribly vomiting stones and fuch store of cinders as overwhelmed all the buildings thereabout, and the falubrius baths of Tripergula, for to many ages celebrated; confumed the vines to ashes, killing birds and beafts: the fearful inhabitants of Puzzol flying through the

Nam fama est olim, media dum rura filebant Nocte. Deo victa, & molli perfusa quiete, Infremuisse zquor ponti, auditamque per omnes Latè tellurem furdum immugire cavernas: Quo sonitu nemora alta tremunt; tremit excita tuto Parthenopæa finu, flammantisque ora Vesevi. At subito se aperire solum, vastosque recessus Pandere sub pedibus, nigraque voragine fauces; Tum piceas cinerum glomerare sub æthere nubes-Vorticibus rapidis, ardentique imbre procellam. Præcipites fugere feræ, perque avia longè Sylvarum fugit pastor, juga per deserta, Ah, mifer! increpitans sæpè alta voce per umbram Nequicquam natos, creditque audire sequentes. Atque ille excelfo rupis de vertice folus Respectans notasque domos, & dulcia regna, Nil usquam videt infelix præter mare trifti Lumine percussum, & pallentes sulphure campos, Fumumque, sammasque, rotataque turbine saxa.

Quin ubi detonuit fragor, & lux reddita cœlo; Mæstos confluere agricolas, passuque videres Tandem iterum timido deserta requirere tecla: Sperantes, si forte oculis, si forte darentur Uxorum cineres, miseror umve ossa parentum, (Tenuia, sed tanti saltem solatia luctus)

the dark with their wives and children; naked, defiled, crying out, and detefting their calamities. Manifold mischiefs have they suffered by the barbarous, yet none like this which Nature inflicted.—This new mountain, when newly raised, had a number of iffues; at some of them smoaking and staming; and others disgorging rivulets of hot waters; keeping within a terrible rumbling; and many miserably perished that ventured to descend into the hollowness above. But that hollow on the top is at present an orchard, and the mountain throughout is berest of his terrors."

Sandys's Travels, book 4, page 275, 277, and 278.

Una colligere & justa componere in urna. Uxorum nusquam cineres, nusquam ossa parentum (Spem miseram!) assuetosve Lares, aut rura videbunt. Quippe ubi planities campi dissus jacebat; Mons novus: ille supercilium, frontemque savilla Incanum ostentans, ambustis cautibus, æquor Subjectum, stragemque suam, mæsta arva, minaci Despicit imperio, soloque in littore regnat.

Hinc infame loci nomen, multosque per annos. Immemor antiquæ laudis, nescire labores Vomeris, & nullo tellus revirescere cultu. Non avium colles, non carmine matutino Pastorum resonare; adeò undique dirus habebat. Informes latè horror agros saltusque vacantes. Sæpius et longé detorquens navita proram Monstrabat digito littus, sæyæque revolvens Funera narrabat noctis, veteremque ruinam.

Montis adhuc facies manet hirta atque aspera saxis:
Sed suror extinctus jamdudum, & slamma quievit,
Quæ nascenti aderat; seu forté bituminis atri
Desluxere olim rivi, atque esseta lacuna
Pabula sufficere ardori, viresque recusat;
Sive in visceribus meditans incendia jam nunc
(Horrendum) arcanis glomerat genti esse sutura:
Exitio, sparsos tacitusque recolligit ignes.

Raro per clivos haud secius ordine vidi Canescentem oleam: longum post tempus amicti Vite virent tumuli; patriamque revisere gaudens Bacchus in assuetis tenerum caput exerit arvis Vix tandem, insidoque audet se credere cœlo.

There was a certain little ode \* fet out from Rome, in a letter of recommendation to you, but

\* The Alcaic Ode inferted in Letter XXI.

possibly

possibly fell into the enemies' hands, for I never heard of its arrival. It is a little impertinent to inquire after its welfare; but you, that are a father, will excuse a parent's foolish fondness. Last post I received a very diminutive letter: It made excuses for its unentertainingness, very little to the purpose : fince it affured me, very strongly, of your esteem, which is to me the thing; all the rest appear but as the petits agrémens, the garnishing of the dish. P. Bougeant, in his Langage des Bêtes, fancies that your birds, who continually repeat the same note. fay only in plain terms, "Je vous aime, ma chere; ma chere, je vous aime;" and that those of greater genius indeed, with various trills, run divisions upon the subject; but that the fond, from whence it all proceeds, is "toujours je vous aime." Now you may, as you find yourfelf dull or in humour, either take me for a chaffinch or nightingale; fing your plain fong, or fhow your skill in music, but in the bottom let there be, toujours, toujours de l'Amitie.

As to what you call my ferious letter; be affured, that your future estate is to me entirely indifferent. Do not be angry, but hear me; I mean with refpect to myself. For whether you be at the top of Fame, or entirely unknown to mankind; at the Council-table, or at Dick's coffee-house; sick and simple, or well and wise; whatever alteration mere accident works in you, (supposing it utterly impossible for it to make any change in your sincerity and honesty, since these are conditions sine quâ non) I do not see any likelihood of my not being yours ever.

### LETTER XXVIII.

#### Mr. GRAY to his FATHER,

Florence, Oa. 9, 1740.

HE beginning of next spring is the time determined for our return at furtheft; possibly it may be before that time. How the interim will be employed, or what route we shall take, is not so certain. If we remain friends with France, upon leaving this country we shall cross over to Venice, and fo return through the cities north of the Po to Genoa; from thence take a felucca to Marfeilles, and come back through Paris. If the contrary fall out, which feems not unlikely, we must make the Milanese, and those parts of Italy, in our way to Venice; from thence pass through the Tirol into Germany, and come home by the Low-Countries. As for Florence, it has been gayer than ordinary for this last month, being one round of balls and entertainments, occasioned by the arrival of a great Milanese Lady; for the only thing the Italians thine in, is their reception of strangers. At such times every thing is magnificence: The more remarkable, as in their ordinary course of life they are parsimonious, even to a degree of nastiness. I faw in one of the vaitest palaces in Rome (that of Prince Pamfilio) the apartment which he himself inhabited, a bed that most fervants in England would disdain to lie in, and furniture much like that of a foph at Cambridge, for convenience and neatness. This man is worth 30,000l. sterling a year. As for eating, there are not two Cardinals in Rome that allow more than fix paoli, which is three shillings a day, for the expence of their table; and you

you may imagine they are still less extravagant here than there. But when they receive a visit from any friend, their houses and persons are set out to the greatest advantage, and appear in all their splendour: it is, indeed, from a motive of vanity, and with the hopes of having it repaid them with interest, whenever they have occasion to return the visit. The new Pope has retrenched the charges of his own table to a fequin (10s) a meal. The applause which all he fays and does meets with, is enough to encourage him really to deferve fame. They fay he is an able and honest man; he is reckoned a wit too. The other day, when the Senator of Rome came to wait upon him, at the first compliments he made him the Pope pulled off his cap: His mafter of the Ceremonies, stood by his side, touched him foftly, as to warn him that fuch a condescension was too great in him, and out of all manner of rule: Upon which he turned to him and faid, "Oh! I cry " you mercy, good Master, it is true, I am but a " Novice of a Pope; I have not yet fo much as " learned ill manners." \*

## LETTER XXIX.

## Mr. GRAY to his FATHER.

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Florence, \* Jan. 12, 1741.

WE still continue constant at Florence, at prefent one of the dullest cities in Italy.

Though it is the middle of the Carnival there are no

<sup>\*</sup> Between the date of this and the foregoing letter the reader will perceive an interval of full three months: as Mr. Gray faw no new places during this period, his letters were chiefly of news and common occurrences, and are therefore omitted.

public diversions; nor is masquerading permitted as yet. The Emperor's obsequies are to be celebrated publicly the 16th of this month; and after that. it is imagined every thing will go on in its usual course. In the mean time, to employ the minds of the populace, the Government has thought fit to bring into the city in a folemn manner, and at a great expence, a famous statue of the Virgin called the Madonna dell'Impruneta, from the place of her residence, which is upon a mountain seven miles off. It never has been practifed but at times of public calamity; and was done at present to avert the ill effects of a late great inundation, which it was feared might cause some epidemical distemper. It was introduced a fortnight ago in procession, attended by the Council of Regency, the Senate, the Nobility, and all the Religious Orders, on foot and bare-headed, and fo carried to the great church, where it was frequented by an infinite concourse of people from all the country round. Among the rest I paid my devotions almost every day, and saw numbers of people possessed with the devil, who were brought to be exorcifed. It was indeed in the evening, and the church-doors were always shut before the ceremonies were finished, so that I could not be eye-witness of the event; but that they were all cured is certain, for one never heard any more of them the next morning. I am to-night just returned from feeing our Lady make her exit with the same solemnities she entered. The show had a finer effect than before, for it was dark; and every body (even those of the mob that could afford it) bore a white-wax flambeau. I believe there were at least five thousand of them, and the march was near three hours in passing before the window. The subject of all this devotion is supposed to be a large Tile with a rude figure in baş-relief upon it. I say supposed,

fupposed, because since the time it was found (for it was found in the earth in ploughing) only two people have seen it; the one was, by good-luck, a faint; the other was struck blind for his presumption. Ever since she has been covered with seven veils; nevertheless, those who approach her tabernacle cast their eyes down for fear they should spy her through all her veils. Such is the history, as I had it from the lady of the house where I stood to see her pass; with many other circumstances; all which she simply believes, and ten thousand beside.

We shall go to Venice in about six weeks, or sooner. A number of German troops are upon their march into this State, in case the King of Naples thinks proper to attack it. It is certain he has asked the Pope's leave for his troops to pass through his country. The Tuscans in general are much discontented, and soolish enough to wish for a Spanish government, or any rather than this. \* \* \*

## LETTER XXX.

# Mr. GRAY to Mr. WEST.

Florence, April 21, 1741.

I Know not what degree of satisfaction it will give you to be told that we shall set out from hence the 24th of this month, and not stop above a fortnight at any place in our way. This I feel, that you are the principal pleasure I have to hope for in my own country. Try at least to make me imagine myself not indifferent to you; for I must own I have the vanity of desiring to be esteemed by somebody, and would choose that somebody should be one whom I esteem

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esteem as much as I do you. As I am recommending myfelf to your love, methinks I ought to fend you my picture (for I am no more what I was, some circumstances excepted, which I hope I need not particularize to you); you must add then to your former idea, two years of age, a reasonable quantity of dulness, a great deal of silence, and something that rather refembles, than is, thinking; a confused notion of many strange and fine things that have fwum before my eyes for fome time, a want of love for general fociety, indeed an inability to it. On the good fide you may add a fenfibility for what others feel, and indulgence for their faults or weaknesses, a love of truth and detestation of every thing elfe. Then you are to deduct a little impertinence, a little laughter, a great deal of pride, and some spi-These are all the alterations I know of, you perhaps may find more. Think not that I have been obliged for this reformation of manners to rea fon or reflection, but to a severer school-mistress, Experience. One has little merit in learning her lessons, for one cannot well help it; but they are more useful than others, and imprint themselves in the very heart. I find I have been haranguing in the style of the Son of Sirach, so shall finish here, and tell you that our route is fettled as follows: First to Bologna for a few days, to hear the Viscontina fing; next to Reggio, where is a Fair. Now, you must know, a Fair here is not a place where one eats gingerbread or rides upon hobby-horses; here are no musical clocks, nor tall Leicestershire women; one has nothing but masking, gaming, and finging. If you love operas, there will be the most splendid in Italy, four tip-top voices, a new theatre, the Duke and Dutchess in all their pomps and vanities. Does not this found magnificent? Yet is the city

city of Reggio but one step above Old Brentsord. Well; next to Venice by the 11th of May, there to see the old Doge wed the Adriatic Whore. Then to Verona, so to Milan, so to Marseilles, so to Lyons, so to Paris, so to West, &c. in secula seculorum. Amen.

Eleven months, at different times, have I passed at Florence; and yet (God help me) know not either people or language. Yet the place and the charming prospects demand a poetical farewell, and here it is.

\* \* Oh Fæsulæ amæna

Frigoribus juga, nec nimiùm spirantibus auris!
Alma quibus Tusci Pallas decus Apennini
Esse dedit, glaucâque suâ canescere sylvâ!
Non ego vos posthac Arni de valle videbo
Porticibus circum, & candenti cincta coronâ
Villarum longè nitido consurgere dorso,
Antiquamve Ædem, & veteres præferre Cupressus
Mirabor, tectisque super pendentia tecta.

I will fend you, too, a pretty little Sonnet of a Sig. Abbate Buondelmonte, with my imitation of it.

Spesso Amor sotto la sorma D'amistà ride, e s'asconde: Poi si mischia, e si consonde Con lo sdegno, e col rancor. In Pietade ei si trassorma; Par trastullo, e par dispetto: Mà nel suo diverso aspetto Sempr'egli, è l'istesso Amor.

Lust amicitiæ interdum velatus amictu, Et bené composità veste sefellit Amor. Mox iræ assumsit cultus, faciemque minantem, Inque odium versus, versus & in lacrymas: Ludentem suge, nec lacrymanti, aut crede surenti; Idem est dissimili semper in ore Deus.

Here comes a letter from you.—I must defer giving my opinion of \* Pausanias till I can see the whole, and only have said what I did in obedience to your commands. I have spoken with such freedom on this head, that it seems but just you should have your revenge; and therefore I send you the beginning not of an Epic Poem, but of a † Metaphysic one. Poems and Metaphysics (say you, with your spectacles on) are inconsistent things. A metaphysical poem is a contradiction in terms. It is true, but I will go on. It is Latin too to increase the absurdity. It will, I suppose, put you in mind of the man who wrote a treatise of Canon Law in Hexameters. Pray help me to the description of a mixt mode, and a little Episode about Space.

Mr Walpole and Mr. Gray set out from Florence at the time specified in the foregoing Letter. When Mr. Gray left Venice, which he did the middle of July sollowing, he returned home through Padua,

<sup>\*</sup> Some part of a Tragedy under that title, which Mr. Well had begun; but I do not find amongst Mr. Gray's papers either the sketch itself, or Mr. Gray's free critique upon it, which he here mentions.

<sup>†</sup> The beginning of the first book of a didactic Poem, "De "Principiis Cogitandi." The fragment which he now sent contained the first 53 lines. The reader will find a further account of his design, and all that he finished of the Poem, in a subsequent section.

Verona, Milan, Turin, and Lyons. From all which places he writ either to his Father or Mother with great punctuality: But merely to inform them of his health and fafety; about which (as might be expected) they were now very anxious, as he travelled with only a 'Laquais du Voyage.' These letters do not even mention that he went out of his way to make a second visit to the Grande Chartreuse,\* and there wrote in the Album of the Fathers the following Alcaic † Ode, with which I conclude this Section.

#### O D E.

Oh Tu, severi Religio loci,
Quocunque gaudes nomine (non leve
Nativa nam certè fluenta
Numen habet, veteresque sylvas;
Præsentiorem & conspicionus Deum
Per invias rupes, fera per juga,
Clivosque præruptos, sonantes
Inter aquas, nemorumque noctem;

\* He was at Turin the 15th of August, and began to cross the Alps the next day. On the 25th he reached Lyons; therefore it must have been between these two dates that he made this visit.

We faw in the 8th and 11th letters how much Mr. Gray was struck with the awful scenery which surrounds the Chatreuse, at a time his mind must have been in a far more tranquil state than when he wrote this excellent Ode. It is marked, I think, with all the finest touches of his melancholy Muse, and slows with such an originality of expression, that one can hardly lament he did not honour his own language by making it the vehicle of this noble imagery and pathetic sentiment.

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Quâm si repôstus sub trabe citrea
Fulgeret auro, & Phidiaca manu)
Salve vocanti ritè, sesso et
Da placidam juveni quietem.
Quod si invidendis sedibus, & frui
Fortuna sacra lege silentii
Vetat volentem, me resorbens
In medios violenta suctus:
Saltem remoto des, Pater, angulo
Horas senesta ducere liberas;
Tutumque vulgari tumultu
Surripias, hominumque curis.

END OF THE SECOND SECTION.

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## SECTION THE THIRD.

WHEN Mr. Gray returned from abroad, he found his Father's conflitution almost entirely worn out by the very severe attacks of the gout, to which he had been for many years subject; and indeed the next return of that distemper was fatal to him. \* This happened about two months after his son reached London.

It has been before observed, that Mr. Philip Gray was of a referved and indolent temper; he was also morose, unsocial, and obstinate; defects which, if not inherent in his disposition, might probably arise from his bodily complaints. His indolence had led him to neglect the business of † his profession; his obstinacy to build a country-house at Wanstead, without acquainting either his wife or son with the design (to which he knew they would be very averse) till it was executed. This building which he undertook late in life, was attended with very considerable expence; which might almost be called so much money thrown away: since, after his death, the

\* He came to town about the 1st of September, 1741. His Father died the 6th of November following, at the age of fixty-five.

† His business was that which at the time was called a Money-Scrivener; and it may not be amiss to mention, for the singularity of the thing, that Milton's father was of the same profession: But he also had "Music in his soul," and was esteemed a considerable master in that science. Some of his compositions are extant in Old Wilby's Set of Airs, and in Ravenscroft's Psalms. The great Poet alludes finely both to the musical genius and the trade of his father in those beautiful hexameters, "Ad Patrem," which are inserted amongst his Latin Poems.

house was obliged to be fold for two thousand pounds less than its original cost. Mr. Gray, therefore, at this time found his patrimony fo small, that it would by no means enable him to profecute the study of the law, without his becoming burthensome to his Mother and Aunt. These two fifters had for many years carried on \* a trade feparate from that of Mrs. Gray's husband; by which, having acquired what would support them decently for the rest of their lives, they left off business soon after his death, and retired to Stoke, near Windsor, to the house of their other Sister, Mrs. Rogers, lately become the widow of a Gentleman of the Law of that name. Both of them wished Mr. Gray to follow the profession for which he had been originally intended, and would undoubtedly have contributed all in their power to enable him to do it with ease and conveniency. He on his part, though he had taken his resolution of declining it, was too delicate to hurt two persons for whom he had so tender an affection, by peremptorily declaring his real intentions; and therefore changed, or pretended to change, the line of that fludy; and, accordingly, the latter end of the subsequent year went to Cambridge to take his Bachelor's Degree in Civil Law.

But the narrowness of his circumstances was not the only thing that distressed him at this period. He had, as we have seen, lost the friendship of Mr. Walpole abroad. He had also lost much time in his travels; a loss which application could not easily retrieve, when so severe and laborious a study as that of the Common Law was to be the object of

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<sup>\*</sup> They kept a kind of India warehouse on Cornhill under the joint names of Gray and Antrobus.

it: and he well knew that, whatever improvement he might have made in this interval, either in tafte or science, such improvement would stand him in little stead with regard to his present situation and exigencies. This was not all: His other friend, Mr. West, he found on his return, oppressed by fickness and a load of family misfortunes; which, were I fully acquainted with them, it would not be my inclination here to dwell upon. These the sympathizing heart of Mr. Gray made his own. did all in his power (for he was now with him in London) to foothe the forrows of his friend, and try to alleviate them by every office of the purest and most perfect affection: But his cares were vain. The diffresses of Mr. West's mind had already too far affected a body, from the first weak and delicate. His health declined daily, and therefore he left town in March 1742, and, for the benefit of the air, went to David Mitchell's, Esq; at Popes, near Hatfield. Hertfordshire; at whose house he died the ist of June following.

It is from this place, and from the former date,

that this third feries of letters commences.

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#### LETTER I.\*

#### Mr. WEST to Mr. GRAY.

Write to make you write, for I have not much to tell you. I have recovered no spirits as yet; but, as I am not displeased with my company, I st purring by the fire-side in my arm-chair with no

<sup>\*</sup> This letter is inserted as introductory only to the answer which follows.

finall satisfaction. I read too sometimes, and have begun Tacitus, but have not yet read enough to judge of him; only his Pannonian sedition in the first book of his annals, which is just as far as I have got, seemed to me a little tedious. I have no more to say, but to desire you will write letters of a hand-some length, and always answer me within a reasonable space of time, which I leave to your discretion.

Popes, March 28, 1742.

P. S. The new Dunciad! qu'en pensez vous?

#### LETTER II.

## Mr. GRAY to Mr. WEST.

Trust to the country, and that easy indolence you I fay you enjoy there, to restore you your health and spirits; and doubt not but, when the sun grows warm enough to tempt you from your firefide, you will (like all other things) be the better for his influence. He is my old friend, and an excellent nurse, I affure you. Had it not been for him, life had often been to me intolerable. do not imagine that Tacitus, of all authors in the world, can be tedious. An annalist, you know, is by no means mafter of his subject; and I think one may venture to fay, that if these Pannonian affairs are tedious in his hands, in another's they would have been insupportable. However, fear not they will foon be over, and he will make ample amends. A man, who could join the brilliant of wit and concife fententiousness peculiar to that age, with the truth and gravity of better times, and the deep reflection

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flection and good fense of the best moderns, cannot choose but have something to strike you. Yet what I admire in him above all this, is his detestation of tyranny, and the high spirit of liberty that every now and then breaks out, as it were, whether he would or no. I remember a sentence in his Agricola that (concise as it is) I always admired for saying much in a little compass. He speaks of Domitian, who upon seeing the last will of that General, where he had made him Coheir with his Wise and Daughter, "Satis constabat lætatum eum, velut "honore, judicioque: tam cæca & corrupta mens "assiduis adulationibus erat, ut nesciret a bono "patre non scribi hæredem, nisi malum principem."

As to the Dunciad it is greatly admired: The Genii of Operas and Schools, with their attendants, the pleas of the Virtuosos and Florists, and the yawn of Dulness in the end, are as fine as any thing he has written. The Metaphysicians' part is to me the worst; and here and there a few ill-expressed lines,

and fome hardly intelligible.

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I take the liberty of fending you a long speech of Agrippina; much too long, but I could be glad you would retrench it. Aceronia, you may remember, had been giving quiet counsels. I fancy, if it ever be finished, it will be in the nature of Nat. Lee's Bedlam Tragedy, which had twenty-five acts and some odd scenes.

The speech herewith sent to Mr. West was the concluding one of the first scene of a tragedy, which I believe was begun the preceding winter. The Britannicus of M. Racine, I know was one of Mr. Gray's most savourite plays; and the admirable manner in which I have heard him say that he saw it represented at Paris, seems to have led him to choose the death of Agrippina for this his first and Vol. I.

only effort in the drama. The execution of it also. as far as it goes, is so very much in Racine's tafte, that I suspect if that great poet had been born an Englishman, he would have written precisely in the fame style and manner. However, as there is at present in this nation a general prejudice against declamatory plays. I agree with a learned friend, who perused the manuscript, that this fragment will be little relished by the many; yet the admirable strokes of nature and character with which it abounds. and the majesty of its diction, prevent me from withholding from the few, who I expect will relift it, so great a curiosity (to call it nothing more) as part of a tragedy written by Mr. Gray. These perfons well know, that till style and fentiment be a little more regarded, mere action and passion will never secure reputation to the Author, whatever they may do to the Actor. It is the business of the one "to strut and fret his hour upon the stage;" and if he frets and struts enough, he is fure to find his reward in the plaudit of an upper gallery; but the other ought to have some regard to the cooler judgment of the closet; For I will be bold to fay, that if Shakespeare himself had not written a multitude of passages which please there as much as they do on the stage, his reputation would not stand so universally high as it does at present. Many of these passages, to the shame of our theatrical tafte, are omitted constantly in the representation: But I say not this from conviction that the mode of writing, which Mr. Gray purfued, is the best for dramatic purposes. I think myself, what I have asferted elsewhere \*, that a medium between the

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<sup>\*</sup> See Letters prefixt to Elfrida, particularly Letter II.

French and English taste would be preferable to either; and yet this medium, if hit with the greatest nicety, would fail of fuccess on our theatre, and that for a very obvious reason. Actors (I speak of the whole body collectively) must all learn to speak as well as to act, in order to do justice to such a drama.

But let me hasten to give the reader what little infight I can into Mr. Gray's plan, as I find, and felect it from two detached papers. The title and Dramatis Personæ are as follow:

## AGRIPPINA, a TRAGEDY.

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AGRIPPINA, the Empress Mother. NERO, the Emperor. 29 ,019 1 POPPEA, believed to be in love with OTHO. Отно, a young man of quality, in love with POPP AA. SENECA, the Emperor's Preceptor. ANICETUS, Captain of the guards. DEMETRIUS, the Cynic, friend to SENECA. ACERONIA, Configurte to AGRIPPINA. perceiving that it will be felt ber

SCENE, the Emperor's villa at BAIR.

much entared; but good abowing that The argument drawn out by him, in these two papers, under the idea of a plot and under-plot, I shall here unite; as it will tend to show that the action itself was possest of sufficient unity.

The drama opens with the indignation of Agrippina, at receiving her fon's orders from Anicetus to remove from Baiæ, and to have her guard taken from her. At this time Otho having conveyed Poprefolves

pæa from the house of her husband Rufus Crispinus, brings her to Baiæ, where he means to conceal her among the croud; or, if his fraud is discovered, to have recourse to the Emperor's authority; but, knowing the lawless temper of Nero, he determines not to have recourse to that expedient, but on the utmost In the mean time he commits her to the care of Anicetus, whom he takes to be his friend. and in whose age he thinks he may fafely confide. Nero is not yet come to Baiæ; but Seneca, whom he fends before him, informs Agrippina of the accufation concerning Rubellius Plancus, and desires her to clear herself, which she does briefly; but demands to fee her fon, who, on his arrival, acquits her of all fuspicion, and restores her to her honours. In the mean while Anicetus, to whose care Poppæa had been entrusted by Otho, contrives the following plot to ruin Agrippina: He berrays his trust to Otho, and brings Nero, as it were by chance, to the fight of the beautiful Poppaa; the Emperor is immediately firuck with her charms, and she, by a feigned relistance, increases his passion; tho', in reality, she is from the first dazzled with the prospect of empire, and forgets Otho: She therefore joins with Anicetus in his design of ruining Agrippina, foon perceiving that it will be for her interest. Otho hearing that the Emperor had seen Poppæa, is much enraged; but not knowing that this interview was obtained thro' the treachery of Anicetus, is readily perfuaded by him to fee Agrippina in fecret, and acquaint her with his fears that her fon Nero would marry Poppæa. Agrippina, to support her own power, and to weap the Emperor from the love of Poppæa, gives Otho encouragement, and promifes to support him. Anicetus fecretly introduces Nero to hear their difcourse; who refolves

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vho ves resolves immediately on his mother's death, and, by Anicetus's means, to destroy her by drowning. A folemn feast, in honour of their reconciliation, is to be made; after which she being to go by sca to Bauli, the ship is so contrived as to fink or crush her; she escapes by accident and returns to Baiæ. In this interval, Otho has an interview with Poppæa: and being duped a second time by Anicetus and her, determines to fly with her into Greece, by means of a vessel which is to be furnished by Anicetus; but he, pretending to remove Poppæa on board in the night, conveys her to Nero's apartment : She there encourages and determines Nero to banish Otho, and finish the horrid deed he had attempted on his mother. Anicetus undertakes to execute her resolves; and, under pretence of a plot upon the Emperor's life, is fent with a guard to murder Agrippina, who is still at Baiæ in imminent fear, and irresolute how to conduct herself. The account of her death, and the Emperor's horrour and fruitless remorfe, finishes the drama.

I refer the reader to the 13th and fourteenth books of the annals for the facts on which this story is founded: By turning to that author, he will easily see how far the poet thought it necessary to deviate from the truth of history. I shall only surther observe, that as such a fable could not possibly admit of any good character, it is terror only and not pity that could be excited by this tragedy, had it been compleated. Yet it was surely capable of exciting this passion in a supreme degree; if, what the critics tell us be true, that crimes, which illustrious persons commit, affect us from the very circumstance of their rank, because we unite with that our fears for the public weal.

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ACT

## ACT I. SCENE I.

## AGRIPPINA, ACERONIA.

#### AGRIPPINA.

IS well, begone! your errand is perform'd: [Speaks as to Anicetus entering. The message needs no comment. Tell your master, His mother shall obey him. Say you saw her Yielding due reverence to his high command : Alone, unguarded, and without a Lictor, As fits the daughter of Germanicus. Say, she retired to Antium; there to tend Her houshold cares, a woman's best employment. What if you add, how the turn'd pale and trembled; You think, you spied a tear stand in her eye, And would have drop'd, but that her pride restrain'dit? (Go! you can paint it well) 'twill profit you, And please the stripling. Yet 'twould dash his joy To hear the spirit of Britannicus Yet walks on earth; at least there are who know Without a spell to raise and bid it fire A thousand haughty hearts, unus'd to shake When a boy frowns, nor to be lur'd with finiles To tafte of hollow kindness, or partake His hospitable board: They are aware Of th' unpledg'd bowl, they love not Aconite.

#### ACERONIA.

He's gone; and much I hope these walls alone, And the mute air are privy to your passion. Forgive your servant's fears, who sees the danger Which sierce resentment cannot fail to raise In haughty youth, and irritated power.

AGRIP.

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#### AGRIPPINA.

And dost thou talk to me, to me, of danger,
Of haughty youth, and irritated power,
To her that gave it being, her that arm'd
This painted Jove, and taught his novice hand
To aim the forked bolt; while he stood trembling
Scar'd at the found, and dazzled with its brightness?

'Tis like, thou hast forgot, when yet a stranger To adoration, to the grateful steam

Of statery's incense, and obsequious vows

From voluntary realms, a puny boy,
Deck'd with no other lustre, than the blood

Of Agrippina's race, he liv'd unknown

To same, or fortune; haply eyed at distance
Some edileship, ambitious of the power

To judge of weights, and measures; scarcely dar'd
On expectation's strongest wing to soar

High as the consulate, that empty shade

Of long-forgotten liberty: When I

Oped his young eye to bear the blaze of great

Shew'd him, where empire tower'd, and bade him

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RIF.

The noble quarry. Gods! then was the time
To shrink from danger; fear might then have worn
The mask of prudence: but a heart like mine,
A heart that glows with the pure Julian fire,
If bright Ambition from her craggy feat
Display the radiant prize, will mount undaunted,
Gain the rough heights, and grasp the dangerous
honour.

#### ACERONIA.

Thro' various life I have purfued your steps, Have seen your soul, and wonder'd at its daring: Hence rise my sears. Nor am I yet to learn How vast the debt of gratitude, which Nero

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To fuch a mother owes; the world, you gave him, Suffices not to pay the obligation.

I well remember too (for I was present) When in a fecret and dead hour of night. Due facrifice perform'd with barb'rous rites Of mutter'd charms, and solemn invocation. You bade the Magi call the dreadful powers. That read futurity, to know the fate Impending o'er your son: Their answer was, If the fon reign, the mother perifhes. Perish (you cry'd) the mother ! reign the son! He reigns, the rest is heav'n's; who oft has bade, Ev'n when its will feem'd wrote in lines of blood, Th' unthought event disclose a whiter meaning. Think too how oft in weak and fickly minds The sweets of kindness lavishly indulg'd Rankle to gall; and benefits too great To be repaid, fit heavy on the foul, As unrequited wrongs. The willing homage Of prostrate Rome, the senate's joint applause, The riches of the earth, the train of pleasures, That wait on youth, and arbitrary fway; Thefe were your gift, and with them you bestow'd The very power he has to be ungrateful.

#### AGRIPPINA.

Thus ever grave, and undisturb'd reslection
Pours its cool dictates in the madding ear
Of rage, and thinks to quench the fire it feels not.
Say'st thou I must be cautious, must be silent,
And tremble at the phantom I have rais'd?
Carry to him thy timid counsels. He
Perchance may heed 'em: Tell him too, that one,
Who had such liberal power to give, may still
With equal power resume that gift, and raise
A tempest, that shall shake her own creation
To its original atoms—tell me! say

This mighty Emperor, this dreadful Hero,
Has he beheld the glittering front of war?
Knows his foft ear the Trumpet's thrilling voice,
And outcry of the battle? Have his limbs
Sweat under iron harnes? Is he not
The filken fon of dalliance, nurs'd in Ease
And Pleasure's flowery lap?—Rubellius lives,
And Sylla has his friends, tho' school'd by fear
To bow the supple knee, and court the times
With shows of fair obeisance; and a call,
Like mine, might serve belike to wake pretensions
Drowsier than theirs, who boast the genuine blood
Of our imperial house.

#### ACERONIA.

Did I not wish to check this dangerous passion, I might remind my mistress that her nod Can rouse eight hardy legions, wont to stem With stubborn nerves the tide, and face the rigour Of bleak Germania's snows. Four, not less brave, That in Armenia quell the Parthian force Under the warlike Corbulo, by you Mark'd for their leader: These, by ties consirm'd, Of old respect and gratitude, are yours. Surely the Massans too, and those of Egypt, Have not forgot your sire: The eye of Rome And the Prætorian camp have long rever'd, With custom'd awe, the daughter, sister, wise, And mother of their Cæsars.

#### AGRIPPINA.

Ha! by Juno,
It bears a noble femblance. On this base
My great revenge shall rise; or say we sound
The trump of liberty; there will not want,
Even in the service senate, ears to own
Her spirit-stirring voice; Soranus there,
And Cassius; Vetus too, and Thrasea,

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Minds

Minds of the antique cast, rough, stubborn souls, That struggle with the yoke. How shall the spark Unquenchable, that glows within their breasts, Blaze into freedom, when the idle herd (Slaves from the womb, created but to stare, And bellow in the Circus) yet will start, And shake 'em at the name of liberty, Stung by a senseless word, a vain tradition, As there were magic in it? wrinkled beldams Teach it their grand children, as somewhat rare That anciently appear'd, but when, extends Beyond their chronicle—oh! 'tis a cause To arm the hand of childhood, and rebrace The slacken'd sinews of time-wearied age.

Yes, we may meet, ingrateful boy, we may!
Again the buried genius of old Rome
Shall from the dust uprear his reverend head,
Rous'd by the shout of millions: There before
His high tribunal thou and I appear.
Let majesty sit on thy awful brow,
And lighten from thy eye: Around thee call
The gilded swarm that wantons in the sunshine
Of thy full favour; Seneca be there
In gorgeous phrase of labour'd eloquence
To dress thy plea, and Burrhus strengthen it
With his plain soldier's oath, and honest seeming.
Against thee liberty and Agrippina:
The world, the prize; and fair befal the victors.

But fost! why do I waste the fruitless hours In threats unexecuted? Haste thee, sly These hated walls, that seem to mock my shame, And cast me forth in duty to their lord.

ACERONIA.

'Tis time we go, the fun is high advanc'd, And, ere mid-day, Nero will come to Baiæ.

AGRIE-

#### AGRIPPINA.

My thought aches at him; not the basilisk More deadly to the fight, than is to me The cool injurious eye of frozen kindness. I will not meet its poison. Let him feel Before he sees me.

#### ACERONIA.

Why then stays my fovereign, Where he fo foon may—

#### AGRIPPINA.

Yes, I will be gone,
But not to Antium—all shall be confess'd,
Whate'er the frivolous tongue of giddy fame
Has spread among the crowd; things, that but
whisper'd

Have arch'd the hearer's brow, and rivetted His eyes in fearful extafy: No matter What; fo't be strange, and dreadful.—Sorceries, Assassinations, poisonings—the deeper My guilt, the blacker his ingratitude.

And you, ye manes of ambition's victims,
Enshrined Claudius, with the pitied ghosts
Of the Syllani, doom'd to early death,
(Ye unavailing horrours, fruitless crimes!)
If from the realms of night my voice ye hear,
In lieu of penitence, and vain remorse,
Accept my vengeance. Tho' by me ye bled,
He was the cause. My love, my sears for him,
Dried the soft springs of pity in my heart,
And froze them up with deadly cruelty.
Yet if your injur'd shades demand my sate,
If murder cries for murder, blood for blood,
Let me not fall alone; but crush his pride,
And sink the traitor in his mother's ruin. [Exeunt.]

## S C E N E II.

## OTHO, POPPÆA.

#### OTHO.

Thus far we're safe. Thanks to the rosy queen Of amorous thests: And had her wanton son Lent us his wings, we could not have beguil'd With more elusive speed the dazzled sight Of wakeful jealousy. Be gay securely; Dispel, my sair, with smiles, the tim'rous cloud That hangs on thy clear brow. So Helen look'd, So her white neck reclin'd, so was she borne By the young Trojan to his gilded bark With sond reluctance, yielding modesty, And oft reverted eye, as if she knew not Whether she fear'd, or with'd to be pursued.

# LETTER III.

Mr. WEST to Mr. GRAY.

Popes, April 4, 1742.

Think Agrippina's speech too long:

\* but how to retrench it, I know not: But I have
fomething else to say, and that is in relation to the

<sup>\*</sup> The Editor has obviated this objection, not by retrenching, but by putting part of it into the mouth of Aceronia, and by breaking it in a few other places. Originally it was one continued speech from the line "Thus ever grave and undifturb'd Resection" to the end of the scene; which was undoubtedly too long for the lungs of any Actress.

flyle, which appears to me too antiquated. Racine was of another opinion; he no where gives you the phrases of Ronsard: His language is the language of the times, and that of the purest fort; fo that his French is reckoned a standard. I will not decide what style is fit for our English stage; but I should rather choose one that bordered upon Cato, than upon Shakespeare. One may imitate (if one can) Shakespeare's manner, his surprizing strokes of true nature, his expressive force in painting characters, and all his other beauties; preserving at the same time our own language. Were Shakespeare alive now, he would write a different flyle from what he These are my sentiments upon these matters: Perhaps I am wrong, for I am neither a Tarpa, nor am I quite an Aristarchus. You see I write freely both of you and Shakespeare; but it is as good as writing not freely, where you know it is acceptable.

I have been tormented within this week with a most violent cough; for when once it sets up its note, it will go on, cough after cough, shaking and tearing me for half an hour together; and then it leaves me in a great sweat, as much satigued as if I had been labouring at the plough. All this description of my cough in prose, is only to introduce another description of it in verse, perhaps not worth your perusal: but it is very short, and besides has this remarkable in it, that it was the production of sour o'clock in the morning, while I lay in my bed tossing and coughing, and all unable to sleep.—

Ante omnes morbos importunissima tussis, Quâ durare datur, traxitque sub ilia vires. Dura etenim versans imo sub pectore regna, Perpetuo exercet teneras luctamine costas,

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Oraque

Oraque distorquet, vocemque immutat anhelam:
Nec cessare locus: sed sævo concita motu
Molle domat latus, & corpus labor omne fatigat:
Unde molesta dies, noctemque infomnia turbant.
Nec Tua, si mecum Comes hic jucundus adesses,
Verba juvare queant, aut hunc lenire dolorem
Sufficiant tua vox dulcis, nec vultus amatus.

Do not mistake me, I do not condemn Tacitus: I was then inclined to find him tedious: The German sedition sufficiently made up for it; and the speech of Germanicus, by which he reclaims his soldiers, is quite masterly. Your New Dunciad I have no conception of. I shall be too late for our dinner if I write any more.

Yours.

## LETTER VI.

#### Mr. GRAY to Mr. WEST.

London, April, Thursday.

You are the first who ever made a Muse of a Cough; to me it seems a much more easy task to versify in one's sleep, (that indeed you were of old famous for \*) than for want of it. Not the wakeful nightingale (when she had a cough) ever fung so sweetly. I give you thanks for your warble, and wish you could sing yourself to rest. These wicked remains of your illness will sure give way to warm weather and gentle exercise; which I hope you will not omit as the season advances. Whatever low spirits and indolence, the effect of them, may advise to the contrary, I pray you add five steps to

<sup>\*</sup> I suppose at Eton School.

your walk daily for my fake; by the help of which in a month's time, I propose to set you on horseback.

I talked of the Dunciad as concluding you had feen it; if you have not, do you choose I should get and fend it to you? I have myfelf, upon your recommendation, been reading Joseph Andrews. The incidents are ill laid and without invention; but the characters have a great deal of nature, which always pleases even in her lowest shapes. Parson Adams is perfectly well; so is Mrs. Slipslop, and the flory of Wilson; and throughout he shews himself well read in Stage-Coaches, Country Squires, Inns, and Inns of Court. His reflections upon high people and low people, and miffes and mafters, are very good. However the exaltedness of some minds (or rather as I shrewdly suspect their insipidity and want of feeling or observation) may make them infensible to these light things, (I mean such as characterize and paint nature) yet furely they are as weighty and much more useful than your grave difcourfes upon the mind \*, the passions, and what not. Now as the paradifaical pleasures + of the Mahometans confift in playing upon the flute and lying with Houris, be mine to read eternal new romances of Mariyaux and Crebillon.

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<sup>\*</sup> He seems here to glance at Hutchinson, the disciple of Shastesbury: Of whom he had little better opinion, than of his master.

<sup>†</sup> Whimsically put.—But what shall we say of the present taste of the French, when a writer whom Mr. Gray so justly esteemed as M. Marivaux, is now held in such contempt, that Marivauder is a sassinable phrase amongst them, and signifies neither more nor less, than our sassinable phrase of prosing? As to Crebillon, 'twas his "Egaremens du Cœur & d'Esprit" that our author chiesly esteemed; he had not, I belive, at this time published his more licentious pieces.

You are very good in giving yourfelf the trouble to read and find fault with my long harangues. Your freedom (as you call it) has fo little need of apologies, that I should scarce excuse your treating me any otherwise; which, whatever compliment it might be to my vanity, would be making a very ill one to my understanding. As to matter of style, I have this to fay: The language of the age 1 is never the language of poetry; except among the French, whose verse, where the thought or image does not support it, differs in nothing from profe. Our poetry, on the contrary, has a language peculiar to itself; to which almost every one, that has written, has added fomething by enriching it with foreign idioms and derivatives: Nay fometimes words of their own composition or invention. Shakespeare and Milton have been great creators this way; and no one more licentious than Pope or Dryden, who perpetually borrow expressions from the former-Let me give you some instances from Dryden, whom every body reckons a great master of our poetical tongue. - Full of museful mopeings-unlike the trim of love-a pleasant beverage-a roundelay of love-flood filent in his mood-with knots and knows deformed—his ireful mood—in proud array—his boon was granted-and difarray and shameful routwayward but wife-furbished for the field-the foiled dodderd oaks-difberited-smouldring flames -retchless of laws-crones old and ugly-the beldam at his fide—the grandam-bag—villanize his father's fame. But they are infinite: And our language

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<sup>†</sup> Nothing can be more just than this observation; and nothing more likely to preserve our poetry from falling into inspidity, than pursuing the rules here laid down for supporting the diction of it: Particularly with respect to the Drama.

not being a fettled thing (like the French) has an undoubted right to words of an hundred years old, provided antiquity have not rendered them unintelligible. In truth, Shakespeare's language is one of his principal beauties; and he has no less advantage over your Addisons and Rowes in this, than in those other great excellencies you mention. Every word in him is a picture. Pray put me the following lines into the tongue of our modern Dramatics:

But I, that am not shaped for sportive tricks,
Nor made to court an amorous looking-glass:
I, that am rudely stampt, and want love's majesty
To strut before a wanton ambling nymph:
I, that am curtail'd of this fair proportion,
Cheated of feature by dissembling nature,

Deform'd, unfinish'd, sent before my time Into this breathing world, scarce half made up-And what follows. To me they appear untranslatable; and if this be the case, our language is greatly degenerated. However, the affectation of imitating Shakespeare may doubtless be carried too far; and is no fort of excuse for sentiments ill-suited, or speeches ill-timed, which I believe is a little the cafe with me. I guess the most faulty expressions may be these-filken son of dalliance-drowsier pretenfions-wrinkled beldams-arched the hearer's brow and riveted his eyes in fearful extasie. These are eafily altered or omitted; and indeed if the thoughts be wrong or superfluous, there is nothing easier than to leave out the whole. The first ten or twelve lines are, I believe, the best +; and as for the rest, I was betrayed into a good deal of it by Tacitus; only

<sup>†</sup> The lines which he means here are from—thus ever grave and undisturb'd restection—to Rubellius lives. For the part of the scene, which he sent in his former letter, began there.

what he has said in five words, I imagine I have said in fifty lines: Such is the missfortune of imitating the inimitable. Now, if you are of my opinion, una litura may do the business, better than a dozen; you need not fear unravelling my web. I am a sort of spider; and have little else to do but spin it over again, or creep to some other place and spin there. Alas! for one who has nothing to do but amuse himself, I believe my amusements are as little amusing as most solks. But no matter; it makes the hours pass, and is better than in dualia naid austra nata sieval. Adieu.

## LETTER V.

## Mr. WEST to Mr. GRAY.

O begin with the conclusion of your letter, which is Greek, I defire that you will quarrel no more with your manner of passing your time. In my opinion it is irreproachable, especially as it produces such excellent fruit; and if I, like a saucy bird, must be pecking at it, you ought to consider that it is because I like it. No una litura I beg you, no unravelling of your web, dear Sir! only pursue it a little further, and then one shall be able to judge of it a little better. You know the crifis of a play is in the first act; its damnation or salvation wholly rests there. But till that first act is over, every body suspends his vote; so how do you think I can form, as yet, any just idea of the speeches in regard to their length or thortness. The connection and fymmetry of fuch little parts with one another must naturally escape me, as not having the plan of the

the whole in my head; neither can I decide about the thoughts whether they are wrong or superfluous; they may have some future tendency which I perceive not. The style only was free to me, and there I find we are pretty much of the same sentiment: For you fay the affectation of imitating Shakespeare may doubtless be carried too far; I say as much and no more. For old words we know are old gold, provided they are well chosen. Whatever Ennius was, I do not consider Shakespeare as a dunghill in the least: On the contrary, he is a mine of antient ore, where all our great modern poets have found their advantage. I do not know how it is: but his old expressions \* have more energy in them than ours, and are even more adapted to poetry; certainly, where they are judiciously and sparingly inferted, they add a certain grace to the composition; in the same manner as Poussin gave a beauty to his picture by his knowledge in the ancient proportions: But should he, or any other painter, carry the imitation too far, and neglect that best of models Nature, I am afraid it would prove a very flat performance. To finish this long criticism: I have this further notion about old words revived. (is not this a pretty way of finishing?) I think them of excellent use in tales; they add a certain drollery to the comic, and a romantic gravity to the feri-

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Dixeris egregiè, notum si callida verbum Reddiderit junctura novum.

See Hurd's Horace, vol. ift, Ed. 4th, p. 49.

<sup>\*</sup> Shakespeare's energy does not arise so much from these old expressions, (most of which were not old in his time) but from his artificial management of them. This artifice in the great Poet is developed with much exactness by Dr. Hurd in his excellent note on this passage in Horace's Ep. ad Pisones.

ous, which are both charming in their kind; and this way of charming Dryden understood very well. One need only read Milton to acknowledge the dignity they give the Epic. But now comes my opinion that they ought to be used in Tragedy more sparingly, than in most kinds of poetry. Tragedy is designed for public representation, and what is designed for that should be certainly most intelligible. I believe half the audience that come to Shakespeare's plays do not understand the half of what they hear.—But sinissons ensin.—Yet one word more.—You think the ten or twelve sirst lines the best, now I am for the source last ; add, that they contain not one word of antientry.

I rejoice you found amusement in Joseph Andrews. But then I think your conceptions of Paradise a little upon the Bergerac. Les Lettres du Seraphim R. a Madame la Cherubinesse de Q. What a piece of

extravagance would there be !

And now you must know that my body continues weak and enervate. And for my animal spirits, they are in perpetual sluctuation: some whole days I have no relish, no attention for any thing; at other times I revive, and am capable of writing a long letter, as you see; and though I do not write speeches, yet I translate them. When you underfand what speech, you will own that it is a bold and perhaps a dull attempt. In three words, it is prose,

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<sup>\*</sup> He means the conclusion of the first scene.—But here and throughout his criticism on old words, he is not so confistent as his correspondent; for he here insists that all antientry should be struck out, and in a former passage he admits it may be used sparingly.

it is from Tacitus, it is of Germanicus. Perufe, perpend, pronounce \*. 3000 en 1000 la actual actual

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Black entering of the land never be made that

## Mr. GRAY to Mr. WEST.

London, April, 1742.

I Should not have failed to answer your Letter immediately, but I went out of the town for a little while, which bindered me. Its length (besides the pleasure naturally accompanying a long letter from you) affords me a new one, when I think it is a symptom of the recovery of your health, and flatter myself that your bodily strength returns in perpertion. Pray do not forget to mention the progress you make continually. As to Aggrippina, I begin to be of your opinion; and find myself (as women are of their children) less enamoured of my productions the older they grow. † She is laid up to sleep till next summer; so bid her good night. I think you

\* This speech I omit to print, as I have generally avoided to publish mere translations either of Mr. Gray or his friend.

Plees, May 8, 1 742

his friend.

† He never after awakened her; and I believe this was occasioned by the strictures which his friend had made on his dramatic style; which (though he did not think them well founded, as they certainly were not) had an effect which Mr. West, we may believe, did not intend them to have. I remember some years after I was the innocent cause of his delaying to finish his sine ode on the progress of Poetry. I told him, on reading the part he showed me, that "though I "admired it greatly, and thought that it breathed the very spirit of the Pindar, yet I suspected it would by no means hit the public taste." Finding afterwards that he did not proceed in sinishing it, I often exposulated with him on the subject;

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have translated Tacitus very justly, that is, freely; and accommodated his thoughts to the turn and genius of our language; which, though I commend your judgement, is no commendation of the English tongue, which is too diffuse, and daily grows more and more enervate. One shall never be more fensible of this, than in turning an Author like Tacitus, I have been trying it in some parts of Thucydides. (who has a little refemblance of him in his concifeness) and endeavoured to do it closely, but found it produced mere nonfense. If you have any inclination to fee what figure Tacitus makes in Italian, I have a Tuscan translation of Davanzati, much esteemed in Italy; and will send you the same speech you fent me; that is, if you care for it. In the mean time accept of Propertius. \* \* \* de lail

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## Mr. WEST to Mr. GRAY.

WITHOUT any preface I come to your verfes, which I read over and over with exceffive pleasure, and which are at least as good as Properties. I am only forry you follow the blun-

Popes, May 5, 1742.

ders of Broukhusius, all whose insertions are nonsense. I have some objections to your antiquated

but he always replied "No, you have thrown cold water "upon it." I mention this little anecdote, to shew how much the opinion of a friend, even when it did not convince his judgment, affected his inclination.

+ A Translation of the 1st elegy of the 2d book in English rhyme; omitted for the reason given in the last note but

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words, and am also an enemy to Alexandrines; at least I do not like them in Elegy. But, after all, I admire your translation so extremely, that I cannot help repeating I long to show you some little errors you are fallen into by following Broukhusius 1. \* \* \* Were I with you now, and Propertius with your verses lay upon the table between us, I could discuss this point in a moment; but there is nothing so tiresome as spinning out a criticism in a letter; doubts arife, and explanation follow, till there swells out at least a volume of undigested observations: and all because you are not with him whom you want to convince. Read only the Letters between Pope and Cromwell in proof of this; they dispute without end. Are you aware now that I have an interest all this while in banishing Criticism from our correspondence? Indeed I have; for I am going to write down a little Ode (if it deserves the name) for your perusal, which I am afraid will hardly stand that test. Nevertheless I leave you at your full liberty; so here it follows.

#### O D E.

Dear Gray, that always in my heart. Possesses for the better part, What mean these sudden blasts that rise And drive the Zephyrs from the skies? O join with mine thy tuneful lay, And invocate the tardy May.

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Come, fairest Nymph, resume thy reign! Bring all the Graces in thy train!

I have omitted here a paragraph or two, in which different lines of the elegy were quoted, because I had previously omitted the translation of it.

With

With balmy breath, and flowery tread, Rife from thy fost ambrofial bed; Where, in Elysian slumber bound, Embow'ring myrtles veil thee round.

Awake, in all thy glories drest, Recall the Zephyrs from the west; Restore the sun, revive the skies, At mine, and Nature's call, arise! Great Nature's self upbraids thy stay, And misses her accustom'd May.

See! all her works demand thy aid; The labours of Pomona fade: A plaint is heard from ev'ry tree; Each budding flow'ret calls for thee; The Birds forget to love and fing; With storms alone the forests ring.

Come then, with Pleasure at thy side, Diffuse thy vernal spirit wide; Create, where'er thou turn'st thy eye, Peace, Plenty, Love, and Harmony; Till ev'ry being share its part, And Heav'n and Earth be glad at heart.

## LETTER VIII.

Mr. GRAY to Mr. WEST.

London, May 8, 1742.

Rejoice to fee you putting up your prayers to the May: She cannot choose but come at such a call. It is as light and genteel as herself. You bid me find fault; I am asraid I cannot; however I will

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try. The first stanza (if what you say to me in it did not make me think it the best) I should call the worst of the five (except the fourth line). The two next are very picturesque, Miltonic and musical: her bed is so soft and so snug that I long to lie with her. But those two lines, "Great Nature" are my favourites. The exclamation of the flowers is a little step too far. The last stanza is full as good as the second and third; the last line bold, but I think not too bold. Now, as to myfelf and my translation pray do not call names. I never saw Broukhusius in my life. It is Scaliger who attempted to range Propertius in order; who was, and still is, in fad condition | \* \* \* . You fee, by what I fent you, that I converse, as usual, with none but the dead : They are my old friends, and almost make me long to be with them. You will not wonder therefore that I, who live only in times past, am able to tell you no news of the present. I have finished the Peloponnesian war much to my honour, and a tight conflict it was, I promise you. I have drank and fung with Anacreon for the last fortnight, and am now feeding sheep with Theocritus. Besides, to quit my figure, (because it is foolish) I have run over Pliny's Epiftles and Martial in mapipys; not to mention Petrarch, who, by the way, is fometimes very tender and natural. I must needs tell you three lines in Anacreon, where the expression seems to me inimitable. He is describing hair as he would have it painted.

Έλικας δέλευθέρες μοι Πλοκάμων άτακτα συνθείς 'Αφές ώς θέλεσι κεϊθαι.

| Here some crititism on the Elegy is omitted for a former reason.

VOL. I.

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Guess, too, where this is about a dimple.

Sigilla in mento impressa Amoris digitulo Vestigio demonstrant mollitudinem.

## LETTER IX.

Mr. WEST to Mr. GRAY.

Popes, May 11, 1742. OUR fragment is in Aulus Gellius; and both it and your Greek delicious. But why are you thus melancholy? I am fo forry for it, that you fee I cannot forbear writing again the very first opportunity; though I have little to fay, except to expostulate with you about it. I find you converse much with the dead, and I do not blame you for that: I converse with them too, though not indeed with the Greek. But I must condemn you for your longing to be with them. What, are there no joys among the living? I could almost cry out with Catullus, "Alphene immemor, atque unanimis false fodalibus!" But to turn an accusation thus upon another, is ungenerous; fo I will take my leave of you for the present with a "Vale et vive paulisper cum " vivis."

#### LETTER X.

Mr. GRAY to Mr. WEST.

London, May 27, 1742.

INE, you are to know, is a white Melancholy, or rather Leucocholy for the most part;
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which though it feldom laughs or dances, nor ever amounts to what one calls Joy or Pleasure, yet is a good easy fort of a state, and ca ne laisse que de The only fault of it is insipidity: which is apt now and then to give a fort of Ennui, which makes one form certain little wishes that fignify nothing. But there is another fort, black indeed. which I have now and then felt, that has fomewhat in it like Tertullian's rule of faith. Credo quia impossibile est; for it believes, nay, is sure of every thing that is unlikely, fo it be but frightful; and, on the other hand, excludes and shuts its eyes to the most possible hopes, and every thing that is pleasurable; from this the Lord deliver us! for none but he and funshiny weather can do it. In hopes of enjoying this kind of weather, I am going into the country for a few weeks, but shall be never the nearer any fociety; fo, if you have any charity, you will continue to write. My life is like Harry the fourth's supper of Hens. " lets a la broche, Poulets en Ragout, Poulets en " Hâchis, Poulets en Fricasees." Reading here, Reading there; nothing but books with different sauces. Do not let me lose my dessert then; for though that be Reading too, yet it has a very different flavour. The May feems to be come fince your invitation; and I propose to bask in her beams and drefs me in her rofes.

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Et Caput in verna semper habere rosa.

I shall see Mr. \*\* and his Wise, nay, and his child too, for he has got a boy. Is it not odd to consider one's cotemporaries in the grave light of Husband and Father? There are my Lords \* \* and \* \* \*, they are Statesmen: Do not you remember them dirty boys playing at cricket? As for me, I am never a bit the older, nor the bigger, nor the wiser than I was G 2 then:

then; No, not for having been beyond sea. Pray

how are you?

I fend you an inscription for a wood joining to a park of mine; (it is on the confines of Mount Cithæron, on the left hand as you go to Thebes) you know I am no friend to hunters, and disturbed by their noise.

'Αζόμενος πολύθηρον έκηβόλυ άλσος άνασσας τὰς δεινάς τεμενη λειπε, κυναγέ, θεάς Μενοι άρ ένθα κύνων ζαθέων κλαγγεύσιν ύλαγμοὶ ανταγείς Νυμφάν άγροτεράν κελάδω. \*

Here follows also the beginning of an Heroic Epistle ; but you must give me leave to tell my own ftory first, because Historians differ. Massinissa was the fon of Gala King of the Massyli; and, when very young at the head of his father's army, gave a most fignal overthrow to Syphax, King of the Masæsylians, then an ally of the Romans. Soon after Asdrubal, son of Gisgo the Carthaginian General, gave the beautiful Sophonisba, his daughter, in marriage to the young prince. But this marriage was not confummated on account of Massinissa's being obliged to haften into Spain, there to command his father's troops, who were auxiliaries of the Carthaginians. Their affairs at this time began to be in a bad condition; and they thought it might be greatly for their interest, if they could bring over Syphax to themselves. This in time they actually effected; and to strengthen their new alliance, com-

<sup>\*</sup> In the 12th Letter of the first Section, Mr. Gray says of his friend's translation of an Epigram of Posidippus, "Gra" cam illam &OEAE av mirisce sapit." The learned reader, I imagine, will readily give this tetrastic the same character.

manded Asdrubal to give his daughter to Syphax. (It is probable their ingratitude to Massinissa arose from the great change of affairs, which had happened among the Massylians during his absence; for his father and uncle were dead, and a distant relation of the royal family had usurped the throne.) Sophonisba was accordingly married to Syphax; and Massinissa, enraged at the affront, became a friend They drove the Carthaginians beto the Romans. fore them out of Spain, and carried the war into Africa, defeated Syphax, and took him prisoner; upon which Cirtha (his capital) opened her gates to Lælius and Massinissa. The rest of the affair, the marriage, and the fending of poison, every body This is partly taken from Livy, and partly from Appian.

#### SOPHONISBA MASSINISSÆ.

#### EPISTOLA

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Egregium accipio promissi Munus amoris;
Inque manu mortem jam fruitura sero:
Atque utinam citius mandasses, luce veluna;
Transieram Stygios non inhonesta lacus.
Victoris nec passa toros, nova nupta, mariti,
Nec sueram fastus, Roma superba, tuos.
Scilicet hæc partem tibi, Massinissa, triumphi
Detractam, hæc pompæ jura minora suæ
Imputat, atque uxor quod non tua pressa catenis,
Objecta & sævæ plausibus urbis eo:
Quin tu pro tantis cepisti præmia factis,
Magnum Romanæ pignus amicitiæ!
Scipiadæ excuses, oro, si tardius utar
Munere. Non nimiùm vivere, crede, velim.
Parva mora est, breve sed tempus mea sama requirit:

G 3

Detinet

Detinet hæc animam cura suprema meam. Quæ patriæ prodesse meæ Regina ferebar, Inter Elisæas gloria prima nurus, Ne videar flammæ nimis indulfisse secundæ. Vel nimis hostiles extimuisse manus. Fortunam atque annos liceat revocare priores, Gaudiaque heu! quantis nostra repensa malis. Primitiasne tuas meministi atque arma Syphacis Fusa, & per Tyrias ducta trophæa vias? (Laudis at antiquæ forsan meminisse pigebit, Quodque decus quondam causa ruboris erit.) Tempus ego certe memini, felicia Pænis Quo te non puduit solvere vota deis; Mæniaque intrantem vidi : longo agmine duxit Turba salutantum, purpureique patres. Fæminea ante omnes longe admiratur euntem Hæret & afpectu tota caterva tuo. Jam flexi, regale decus, per colla capilli, Jam decet ardenti fuscus in ore color! Commendat frontis generosa modestia formam, Seque cupit laudi surripuisse suæ. Prima genas tenui fignat vix flore juventas, Et dextræ soli credimus esse virum. Dum faciles gradiens oculos per fingula jactas, (Seu rexit casus lumina, five Venus) In me (vel certè vifum est) conversa morari Sensi; virgineus perculit ora pudor. Nescio quid vultum molle spirare tuendo Credideramque tuos lentius ire pedes. Quærebam, juxta æqualis si dignior esset, Quæ poterat visus detinuisse tuos :

Nulla fuit circum æqualis quæ dignior effet, Asseruitque decus conscia forma suum.

Pompæ

Pompæ finis erat \*. Tota vix nocte quievi : Sin premat invitæ lumina victa fopor, Somnus habet pompas, eademque recurfat imago: Atque iterum hesterno munere victor ades.

Immediately after writing the preceding Letter, Mr. Gray went upon a visit to his relations at Stoke; where he writ that beautiful little Ode which stands fuff in this collection of Poems. He fent it as foon as written to his beloved friend; but he was dead + before it reached Hertfordshire. He died I only twenty days after he had written the letter to Mr. Gray, which concluded with "Vale, & vive pau-" lifper cum vivis." So little was the amiable youth then aware of the short time that he himself

\* There is fo much of nature in the fentiment, as well as poetry in the description of this triumphal entry of young Maffinissa, that it seems much to be regretted the author did not finish this Poem. But I believe he never proceeded further with it. I had therefore my doubts concerning the printing of so small a part; but as I thought it the best, because the only original specimen of Mr. Gray's Ovidian verse, the rest of his Hexameters and Pentameters being only translations either from English or Italian) I was willing to give it to the reader.

't This singular anecdote is founded on a marginal note in his common-place book, where that ode is transcribed, and the following memorandum annexed: "Written at Stoke " the beginning of June, 1742, and fent to Mr. West, not " knowing he was then dead."

He was buried at Hatfield (the House called Popes being in that parish). On a grave-stone in the chancel is the following plain inscription: "Here lieth the body of Richard "West, Esq; only son to the Right Honourable Richard West, "Efq; late Lord Chancellor of Ireland, who died the ist of

"June, 1742, in the 26th year of his age."

would be numbered amongst the living. But this is almost constantly the case with such persons as die of that most remediless, yet most flattering of all diftempers, a Confumption. Shall Humanity be thankful or forry that it is fo? Thankful, furely. For as this malady generally attacks the Young and Innocent, it feems the merciful intention of Heaven that, to these, death should come unperceived, and as it were by stealth; divested of one of his sharpest flings, the lingering expectation of their diffolution. As to Mr. Gray, we may affure ourselves that he felt much more than his dying friend, when the letter, which inclosed the Ode, was returned unopened. There feems to be a kind of presentiment in that pathetic piece, which readers of tafte will feel when they learn this anecdote; and which will make them read it with redoubled pleasure. It will also throw a melancholy grace (to borrow one of his own expressions) on the Ode on a distant prospect of Eton, and on that to Adversity; both of them written the August following: for as both these Poems abound with Pathos, those who have feeling hearts will feel this excellence the more strongly, when they know the cause from whence it arose; and the unfeeling will, perhaps, learn to respect what they cannot tafte, when they are prevented from imputing to a splenetic melancholy, what in fact sprung from the most benevolent of all fensations. I am inclined to believe that the Elegy in a Country Church-yard was begun, if not concluded, at this time also: Though I am aware that, as it stands at present, the conclusion is of a later date; how that was originally. I shall shew in my notes on the poem. But the first impulse of his forrow for the death of his friend, gave birth to a very tender Sonner in English, on the Petrarchian model; and also to a fublime fublime Apostrophe in Hexameters, written in the Genuine strain of Classical majesty, with which he intended to begin one of his books. "De Principiis Cogitandi." This I shall shortly give the Reader: But the fonnet, being completed, I referve for publication amongst the rest of his Poems.

It may feem fomewhat extraordinary, that Mr. Gray never attempted any thing in English verse, (except the beginning of Agrippina, and a few tranflations) before the first Ode lately mentioned. Shall we attribute this to his having been educated at Eton, or to what other cause? Certain it is, that when I first knew him, he seemed to set a greater value on his Latin poetry, than on that which he had composed in his native language; and had almost the same foible then, which I have since known him laugh at in Petrarch, when we read that most entertaining of all books, entitled " Memoires pour la vie de François Petrarque tirés de-ses œuvres," &c. I am apt to think that the little popularity which M. de Polignac's Anti-Lucretius acquired. after it had been fo long and fo eagerly expected by the learned, induced Mr. Gray to lay afide his didactic Plan. However this may be, he writ no Latin verse after this period; except perhaps some part of the ift book of the Poem just mentioned. This therefore feems the proper place to introduce that fragment; which being the most considerable in itself of all his Latin Compositions, and perhaps the most laboured of any of his Poems, it were to be wished that I could give the reader more in fight into his defign, than the few scattered papers which he has left, enable me to do. It is clear, however, from the Exordium itself, that he meant to make the same use of Mr. Locke's Essay on the human Understanding, which Lucretius did of the Dogmas of GS

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Epicurus. And the first six lines plainly intimate, that his general design was to be comprized in four books.

The ift. On the origin of our Ideas.

Unde Animus scire incipiat-

The 2d. On the distribution of these Ideas in the Memory.

quibus inchoet orfa

Principiis seriem rerum, tenuemque catenam Mnemosyne-

The 3d. On the Province of Reason and its gradual improvement,

----Ratio unde, rudi sub pectore, tardum

Augeat imperium-

The 4th. On the Cause and Effects of the Passions.

& primum mortalibus ægris

Ira, Dolor, Metus, & Curæ nascantur inanes.

But he has not drawn out any of the Arguments of these Books, except a part of the first; and that only so far as he executed of it. This it will be proper here to insert; and also, for the ease of the reader, to repeat the several parts at the bottom of

the subsequent pages.

General Plan of the Poem.—First, Invocation to Mr. Locke. Address to Favonius, shewing the use and importance of the design.—Beginning.—Connection of the soul and body; Nerves, the instruments of sensation.—Touch, the first and most extensive sense, described.—Begins before the birth; Pain, our first idea when born.—Seeing, the second sense. Digressive encomium of Light. The gradual opening and improvement of this sense, and that of Hearing, their connection with the higher faculties of the Mind; Sense of Beauty and Order and Harmony annexed to them. From the latter, our delight in Eloquence, Poetry, and Music derived.—Office of the Taste and Smell.—Internal sense

of Reflection, whereby the mind views its own powers and operations, compared to a young Woodnymph admiring herfelf in fome fountain .- Admiffion of Ideas, fome by a fingle fense, some by two. others by every way of Sensation and Reflection. Instance in a Person born blind, he has no ideas of Light and Colours: but he has those of Figure, Motion, Extension, and Space, (objects both of the fight and touch.) Third fort, those which make their entrance into the mind by every channel alike : as Pleasure, and Pain, Power, Existence, Unity Properties of Bodies, whereby and Succession. they make themselves known to us. Primary qualities: Magnitude, Solidity, Mobility, Texture, and Figure. \* \* \*

## DE PRINCIPIIS COGITANDI.

LIBER PRIMUS.

## Ad FAVONIUM.

Principiis seriem rerum, tenuemque catenam Mnemosyne: Ratio unde rudi sub pectore tardum Augeat imperium; & primum mortalibus ægris Ira, Dolor, Metus, & Curæ nascantur inanes, 5 Hinc canere aggredior. 2 Nec dedignare canentem, O decus! Angliacæ certe o lux altera gentis! Si qua primus iter monstras, vestigia conor Signare incerta, tremulaque insistere planta. \*

Quin potius duc ipse (potes namque omnia) sanctum 10

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Plan of the Poem.\_\_\_\_ Invecation to Mr. Locke.

<sup>\*</sup> It has been already observed in the Note on Letter 17. p. 35. that Mr. Gray's Hexameters, besides having the variety

Ad limen, (si ritè adeo, si pectore puro,)
Obscuræ reserans Naturæ ingentia claustra.
Tu cæcas rerum causas, fontemque severum
Pande, Pater; tibi enim, tibi, veri magne Sacerdos,
Corda patent hominum, atque aliæ penetralia
Mentis.

Tuque aures adhibe vacuas, facilesque, Favons, (Quod tibi crescit opus) 3 simplex nec despice carmen, Nec vatem: non illa leves primordia motus, Quanquam parva, dabunt. Lætum vel amabile quicquid

Usquam oritur, trahit hinc ortum; nec furgit ad

Quin ea conspirent simul, eventusque secundent.
Hinc variæ vitaï artes, ac mollior usus,
Dulce & amicitiæ vinclum: Sapientia dia
Hinc roseum accendit lumen, vultuque sereno
Mumanas aperit mentes, nova gaudia monstrans, 15.
Desormesque sugat curas, vanosque timores:
Scilicet & rerum crescit pulcherrima Virtus.
Illa etiam, quæ te (mirùm) noctesque diesque
Assiduè sovet inspirans, linguamque sequentem
Temperat in numeros, atque horas mulcet inertes; 30
Aurea non aliâ se jactat origine Musa.

4 Principio, ut magnum fœdus Natura creatrix Firmavit, tardis justitque inolescere membris

3 Use and Extent of the Subject.—4 Union of the Soul and Body.

of Virgil's Pauses, closed also wish his Elisions. For Virgil, as an attentive reader will immediately perceive, generally introduces one Elision, and not unfrequently more, into those Lines which terminate the Sense. This gives to his Versiscation its sale and most exquisite grace, and leaves the ear fully satisfied. Mr. Gray could not fail to observe, and of course to aim at this happy effect of Elisions in a concluding Line: of which the present Poem, in particular, affords indubitable and abundant proofs.

Sublimes

Sublimes animas; tenebroso in carcere partem Noluit ætheream longo torpere veterno: 35 Nec per se proprium passa exercere vigorem est, Ne fociæ molis conjunctos sperneret artus, Ponderis oblita, & cælestis conscia flammæ. Idcircó 5 innumero ductu tremere undique fibras Nervorum instituit : tum toto corpore miscens Implicuit late ramos, & fenfile textum, Implevitque humore suo (seu lympha vocanda, Sive aura est) tenuis certe, atque levissima quædam Vis verfatur agens, parvosque insusa canales Perfluit ; affidue externis quæ concita plagis, Mobilis, incussique fidelis nuntia motas, Hinc inde accensa contage relabitur usque Ad superas hominis sedes, arcemque cerebri. Namque illic posuit solium, & sua templa sacravit 6 Mens animi : hanc circum coëunt, densoque feruntur

Agmine notitiæ, simulacraque tenuia rerum: Ecce autem naturæ ingens aperitur imago Immensæ, variique patent commercia mundi.

Ac uti longinquis descendunt montibus amnes
Velivolus Tamisis, flaventisque Indus arenæ, 55.
Euphratesque, Tagusque, & opimo stumine Ganges,
Undas quisque suas volvens, cursuque sonoro
In mare prorumpunt: hos magno acclinis in antro
Excipit Oceanus, natorumque ordine longo
Dona recognoscit venientûm, ultroque serenat
Cærulem faciem, & dissus marmore ridet.
Haud aliter species properant se inserre novellæ
Certatim menti, atque aditus quino agmine complent.

7 Primas tactus agit partes, primusque minutæ

Laxat iter cæcum turbæ, recipitque ruentem.

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<sup>5</sup> Office of the nervous System.—6 Sensation, the Origin of our Ideas.——7 The Touch, our first and most extensive Sense.

Non

Non idem huic modus est, qui fratribus : amplius ille Imperium affectat senior, penitusque medullis, Visceribusque habitat totis, pellisque recentem Funditur in telam, & late per stamina vivit. Necdum etiam matris puer eluctatus ab alvo 70 Multiplices folvit tunicas, & vincula rupit; Sopitus molli fomno, tepidoque liquore Circumfusus adhuc : tactus tamen aura lacessit Jamdudum levior fenfus, animamque reclusit. Idque magis fimul, ac solitum blandumque calorem 75 Frigore mutavit cœli, quod verberat acri Impete inaffuetos artus : tum fævior adftat, Humanæque comes vitæ Dolor excipit; ille Cunctantem frustrà & tremulo multa ore querentem Corripit invadens, ferreisque amplectitur ulnis. 8 Tum species primum patefacta est candida Lucis (Usque vices adeò Natura bonique, malique, Exæquat, justâque manu sua damna rependit) Tum primum, ignotosque bibunt nova lumina soles.

9 Carmine quo, Dea, te dicam, gratissima cœli 85 Progenies, ortumque tuum; gemmantia rore Ut per prata levi lustras, & sloribus halans Purpureum Veris gremium, scenamque virentem Pingis, & umbriseros colles, & cærula regna? Gratia te, Venerisque Lepos, & mille Colorum, 90 Formarumque chorus sequitur, Motusque decentes. At caput invisum Stygiis Nox atra tenebris Abdidit, horrendæque simul Formidinis ora, Pervigilesque æstus Curarum, atque anxius Angor: Undique Lætitia slorent mortalia corda, 95 Purus & arridet largis sulgoribus Æther.

Omnia nec tu ideò invalidæ se pandere Menti (Quippe nimis teneros posset vis tanta diei

Ы

Sight, our second Sense. Digression on Light.

Perturbare,

Perturbare, & inexpertos confundere visus)
Nec capere infantes animos, neu cernere credas 100
Tam variam molem, & miræ spectacula lucis:
10 Nescio quâ tamen hæc oculos dulcedine parvos
Splendida percussit novitas, traxitque sequentes;
Nonne videmus enim, latis inferta senestris
Sicubi se Phæbi dispergant aurea tela,
Sive Lucernarum rutilus colluxerit ardor,
Extemplo hūc obverti aciem, quæ sixa repertos
Haurit inexpletum radios, fruiturque tuendo.

Altior huic verò sensu, majorque videtur
Addita, Judicioque arctè connexa potestas,
Quod simul atque ætas volventibus auxerit annis,
Hæsci mul, assiduo depascens omniavisu,
Perspiciet, vis quanta loci, quid polleat ordo,
Juncturæ quis honos, ut res accendere rebus
Lumina conjurant inter se, & mutua sulgent.

Nec minor 12 in geminis viget auribus insita virtus,
Nec tantum in curvis quæ pervigil excubet antris
Hinc atque hinc (ubi Vox tremesecerit ostia pulsu
Aëriis invecta rotis) longèque recurset:
Scilicet Éloquio hæc sonitus, hæc sulminis alas,
120
Et mulcere dedit dictis & tollere corda,
Verbaque metiri numeris, versuque ligare
Repperit, & quicquid discant Libethrides undæ,
Calliope quotiès, quotiès Pater ipse canendi
Evolvat liquidum carmen, calamove loquenti
125
Inspiret dulces animas, digitisque figuret.

12 At medias fauces, & linguæ humentia templa Gustus habet, qua se insinuet jucunda saporum Luxuries, dona Autumni, Bacchique voluptas.

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95

are,

14 Naribus

<sup>10</sup> Sight, imperfect at first, gradually improves.—11 Ideas of Beauty, Proportion, and Order.—12 Hearing, also improveable by the Judgment.——13 Taste.

Docta leves captare auras, Panchaïa quales
Vere novo exhalat, Floræve quod oscula fragrant
Roscida, cum Zephyri furtim sub vesperis horâ.
Respondet votis, mollemque aspirat amorem.

Alma Parens, sensas capitis circumdedit arci 135.

Alma Parens, sensas que vias per membra reclust;

Haud solas: namque intus agit vivata facultas,

Quâ sese explorat, contemplatus que repente.

Ipse suas animus vires, momentaque cernit.

Quid velit, aut possit, cupiat, sugiatve, vicissim 140.

Percipit imperio gaudens; neque corpora fallunt

Morigera ad celeres actus, ac numina mentis.

Qualis Hamadryadum quondam fi fortè fororum Una, novos peragrans saltus, & devia rura; (Atque illam in viridi suadet procumbere ripa. Fontis pura quies, & opaci frigoris umbra) Dum prona in latices speculi de margine pendet, Mirata est subitam venienti-occurrere Nympham: Mox eosdem, quos ipsa, artus, eadem ora gerentem Unà inferre gradus, unà succedere sylvæ Aspicit alludens; seseque agnoscit in undis. Sic fensu interno rerum simulacra suarum. Mens ciet, & proprios observat conscia vultus. 16 Nee vero simplex ratio, aut jus omnibus unum Conftat imaginibus. Sunt quæ bina oftia nôrunt; 155 Hæ privos servant aditus; fine legibus illæ Passim, quà data porta, ruunt, animoque propinquant. 17 Respice, cui a cunis tristes extinxit ocellos, Sæva & in æternas mersit natura tenebras: Illi ignota dies lucet, vernusque colorum 160 Offusus nitor est, & vivæ gratia formæ.

18 Corporis

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<sup>14</sup> Smell.—15 Reflection, the other Source of our Ideas—16 Ideas approach the Soul, some by single Avenues, some by single Avenues, some by two, others by the Sense.—17 Illustration.—Light, an example of the first.

18 Corporis at filum, & motus, spatiumque, locique Intervalla datur certo dignoscere tactu:
Quandoquidem his iter ambiguum est, & janua duplex,
Exclusæque oculis species irrumpere tendunt
165
Per digitos. Atqui solis concessa potestas
Luminibus blandæ est radios immittere lucis.

19 Undique proporrò sociis, quacunque patescit
Notitiæ campus, mistæ lasciva feruntur
Turba voluptatis comites, formæque dolorum
Terribiles visu, & portâ glomerantur in omni.
20 Nec vario minus introïtu magnum ingruit Illud,
Quo sacere & sungi, quo res existere circum
Quamque sibi proprio cum corpore scimus, & ire
Ordine, perpetuoque per ævum slumine labi.

Nunc age quo valeat pacto, quâ sensilis arte 21 Affectare viam, atque animi tentare latebras Materies (dictis aures adverte faventes) Exsequar. Imprimis spatii quam multa per æquor Millia multigenis pandant se corpora seclis, . Expende. Haud unum invenies, quod mente licebit Amplecti, nedum propriùs deprendere sensu, 22 Molis egens certæ, aut solido fine robore, cujus Denique mobilitas linquit, texturave partes, Ulla nec orarum circumcæsura coërcet. Hæc conjuncta adeò tota compage fatetur Mundus, & extremo clamant in limine rerum, (Si rebus datur Extremum) primordia. Firmat Hæc eadem tactus (tactum quis dicere falsum Audeat?) hæc oculi nec lucidus arguit orbis. Inde potestatum enasci densissima proles;

Inde potestatum enasci densissima proles; Nam quod cunque serit visum, tangive laborat, Quicquid nare bibis, vel concava concipit auris,

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Pain, of the third.—20 Also Power, Existence, Unity, Succession, Duration.—21 Primary Qualities of Bodies.

22 Magnitude, Solidity, Mobility, Texture, Figure.

Quicquid

Quicquid lingua fapit, credas hoc omne, necesse est Ponderibus, textu, discursu, mole, sigura 195 Particulas præstare leves, & semina rerum. Nunc oculos igitur pascunt, & luce minista Fulgere cuncta vides, spargique coloribus orbem, Dum de sole trahunt alias, aliasque superne Detorquent, retròque docent se vertere slammas. 200 Nunc trepido inter se fervent corpuscula pulsa, Ut tremor æthera per magnum, latèque natantes Aurarum sluctus avidi vibrantia claustra Auditus queat allabi, sonitumque propaget. Cominus interdum non ullo interprete per se 205 Nervorum invadunt teneras quatientia sibras, Sensisferumque urgent ultro per viscera motum.

## DE PRINCIPIIS COGITANDI.

# LIBER QUARTUS.

ACTENUS haud segnis Naturæ arcana retexi
Musarum interpres, primusque Britanna per arva
Romano liquidum deduxi slumine rivum.
Cum Tu opere in medio, spes tanti & causa laboris,
Linquis, & æternam fati te condis in unbram l
Vidi egomet duro graviter concusta dolore
Pectora, in alterius non unquam lenta dolorem;
Et languere oculos vidi, & pallescere amantem
Vultum, quo nunquam Pietas nisi rara, Fidesque,
Altus amor Veri, & purum spirabat Honestum.

Visa tamen tardi demùm inclementia morbi
Cessare est, reducemque iterum roseo ore Salutem
Speravi, atque una tecum, dilecte Favoni!
Credulus heu longos, ut quondam, fallere Soles:
Heu spes nequicquam dulces, atque irrita vota!

# [ 136 ]

Heu mæstos Soles, sine te quos ducere slendo Per desideria, & questus jam cogor inanes!

At Tu, sancta anima, & nostri non indiga luctús, Stellanti templo, sincerique ætheris igne, Unde orta es, fruere; atque o si secura, nec ultra 20 Mortalis, notos olam miserata labores Respectes, tenuesque vacet cognoscere curas; Humanam si sortè altà de sede procellam Contemplère, metus, stimulosque cupidinis acres, Gaudiaque & gemitus, parvoque in corde tumultum 25 Irarum ingentem, & sævos sub pectore sluctus; Respice & has lacrymas, memori quas ictus amore Fundo; quod possum, juxtà lugere sepulchrum Dum juvat, & mutæ vana hæc jactare savillæ.

END OF THE THIRD SECTION.

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## SECTION THE FOURTH

HE three foregoing Sections have carried the Reader through the juvenile part of Mr. Gray's life, and nearly, atas, to half of its durati-Those which remain, though less diversified by incidents, will, notwithstanding, I flatter myself, be equally instructive and amusing, as several of his most intimate friends have very kindly furnished me with their collections of his letters; which, added to those I have myself preserved, will enable me to felect from them many excellent specimens of his more mature judgment, correct taffe, and extenfive learning, blended at the fame time with many amiable instances of his fensibility: they will also specify the few remaining anecdotes, which occurred in a life fo retired and sedentary as his: for the reader must be here informed that, from the winter of the year 1742 to the day of his death, his principal residence was at Cambridge. He indeed, during the lives of his mother and aunts, fpent his fummer vacations at Stoke; and, after they died, in making little tours on vifits to his friends in different parts of the country: But he was feldom absent from college any confiderable time, except between the years 1759 and 1762; when, on the opening of the British Musæum, he took lodgings in Southamp ton Row, in order to have recourse to the Harleian

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and other Manuscripts there deposited, from which he made several curious extracts \*.

It may feem strange that a person who had conceived fo early a diflike to Cambridge, and who (as we shall fee presently) now returned to it with this prejudice rather augmented, should, when he was free to choose, make that very place his principal abode for near thirty years: But this I think may be easily accounted for from his love of books, (ever his ruling passion) and the straitness of his circumflances which prevented the gratification of it. For to a man, who could not conveniently purchase even a small library, what situation so eligible as that which affords free access to a number of large ones? This reason also accounts for another singular fact. We have feen that, during his refidence at Stoke, in the spring and summer of this same year 1742, he writ a confiderable part of his more finished poems. Hence one would be naturally led to conclude that, on his return to Cambridge, when the ceremony of taking his degree was over, the quiet of the place would have prompted him to continue the cultivation of his poetical talents, and that immediately, as the Muse seems in this year to have peculiarly inspired him; but this was not the case. Reading, he has often told me, was much more agreeable to him than writing: He therefore now laid afide composition almost entirely, and applied himself with intense affiduity to the study of the best Greek

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<sup>\*</sup> These, amounting in all to a tolerably sized solio, are at present in Mr. Walpole's hands. He has already printed the speech of Sir Thomas Wyat from them in the second number of his Miscellaneous Antiquities. The Public must impute it to their own want of curiosity if more of them do not appear in print.

authors; infomuch that, in the space of about six years, there were hardly any writers of note in that language which he had not only read but digested; remarking, by the mode of common-place, their contents, their difficult and corrupt passages, and all this with the accuracy of a critic added to the diligence of a student.

Before I insert the next series of letters. I must take the liberty to mention, that it was not till about the year 1747 that I had the happiness of being introduced to the acquaintance of Mr. Gray. Some very juvenile imitations of Milton's juvenile poems, which I had written a year or two before, and of which the Monody on Mr. Pope's death was the principal\*, he then, at the request of one of my friends, was fo obliging as to revife. The fame year, on account of a dispute which had happened between the master and fellows of Pembroke Hall. I had the honour of being nominated by the Fellows to fill one of the vacant Fellowthips +. I was at this time scholar of St. John's College, and Batchelor of Arts, personally unknown to the gentlemen who favoured me so highly; therefore that they gave me this mark of diffinction and preference was greatly owing to Mr. Gray, who was well acquaint-

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<sup>\*</sup> The other two were in imitation of "l'Allegro & il "Penseroso," and intitled "Il Bellicoso & il Pacifico." The latter of these I was persuaded to revise and publish in the Cambridge Collection of Verses on the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, 1748. The former has fince got into a Miscellany, printed by G. Pearch, from the indiscretion, I suppose, of some acquaintance who had a copy of it.

<sup>†</sup> Tho' nominated in 1747, I was not elected Fellow till February, 1749. The Master having refused his assent, claiming a negative, the affair was therefore not compromised till after an inessectual litigation of two years.

ed with several of that society, and to Dr. Heberden, whose known partiality to every, even the smallest degree of merit, led him warmly to second his recommendation. The Reader, I hope, will excuse this short piece of egotism, as it is written to express my gratitude, as well to the living as the dead, to declare the sense I shall ever retain of the honour which the Fellows of Pembroke Hall then did me, and to particularize the time of an incident which brought me into the neighbourhood of Mr. Gray's College; and served to give that cement to our future intimacy, which is usually rendered stronger by proximity of place.

The Letters, which I select for this section, are from the date of the year 1742 to that of 1768, when Mr. Gray was made Professor of Modern History. This, as it is a considerable interval of time, will perhaps require me the more frequently to resume my narrative; especially as I cannot now produce one continued chain of correspondence.

## LETTER I.

# Mr. GRAY to \*Dr. WHARTON.

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Cambridge, Dec. 27, 1742.

Ought to have returned you my thanks a long time ago for the pleasure, I should say prodigy, of your Letter; for such a thing has not happened

<sup>\*</sup> Of Old-Park, near Durham. With this Gentleman Mr. Gray contracted an acquaintance very early; and though they were not educated together at Eton, yet afterwards at Cambridge, when the Doctor was Fellow of Pembroke Hall, they became intimate friends, and continued so to the time of Mr. Gray's death.

above twice within this last age to mortal man, and no one here can conceive what it may portend. You have heard, I suppose, how I have been employed a part of the time; how, by my own indefatigable application for these ten years past, and by the care and vigilance of that worthy magistrate the Man in Blue \*. (who, I affure you, has not spared his labour, nor could have done more for his own Son) I am got half way to the top of Jurisprudence +, and bid as fair as another body to open a case of impotency with all decency and circumspection. fee my ambition. I do not doubt but fome thirty years hence I shall convince the world and you that I am a very pretty young fellow; and may come to shine in a profession, perhaps the noblest of all except man-midwifery. As for you, if your diftemper and you can but agree about going to London, I may reasonably expect in a much shorter time to fee you in your three-cornered villa, doing the honours of a well-furnished table with as much dignity, as rich a mien, and as capacious a belly as Dr. Mead. Methinks I fee Dr. \* \*, at the lower end of it, loft in admiration of your goodly person and parts, cramming down his Envy (for it will rife) with the wing of a pheafant, and drowning it in neat Burgundy. But not to tempt your Ashma too much with fuch a prospect, I should think you might be almost as happy and as great as this even in the country. But you know best, and I should be forry to fay any thing that might stop you in the career of Glory: far be it from me to hamper the wheels of

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<sup>\*</sup> A Servant of the Vice-Chancellors for the time being, usually known by the name of Blue Coat, whose business it is to attend Acts for Degrees, &c.

<sup>+</sup> i. e. Batchelor of Civil Law.

your gilded chariot. Go on, Sir Thomas; and when you die, (for even Physicians must die) may the faculty in Warwick-lane erect your statue in the very niche of Sir John Cutler's.

I was going to tell you how forry I am for your illness, but I hope it is too late now: I can only say that I really was very forry. May you live a hundred Christmasses, and eat as many collars of brawn stuck with rosemary. Adieu, &c.

Though I have said that Mr. Gray, on his return to Cambridge, laid aside Poetry almost entirely, yet I find amongst his papers a small fragment in verse, which bears internal evidence that it was written about this very time. The foregoing Letter, in which he employs so much of his usual vein of ridicule on the University, seems to be no improper introduction to it: I shall therefore insert it here without making any apology, as I have given one, on a similar occasion, in the first section.

It feems to have been intended as a Hymn or Address to ignorance; and I presume, had he proceeded with it, would have contained much good Satire upon false Science and scholastic Pedantry. What he writ of it is purely introductory; yet many of the lines are so strong, and the general cast of versification so musical, that I believe it will give the generality of Readers a higher opinion of his poetical Talents, than many of his Lyrical Productions have done. I speak of the Generality; because it is a certain fact, that their taste is founded upon the ten-syllable couplets of Dryden and Pope, and upon these only.

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HAIL, Horrors, hail! ye ever gloomy bowers, Ye gothic fanes, and antiquated towers, Where rushy Camus' slowly-winding slood Perpetual draws his humid train of mud: Glad I revisit thy neglected reign, Oh take me to thy peaceful shade again.

But chiefly thee, whose influence breath'd from high Augments the native darkness of the sky: Ah! Ignorance! foft falutary Power! Proftrate with filial reverence I adore. Thrice hath Hyperion roll'd his annual race. Since weeping I forfook thy fond embrace. Oh fay, fuccessful do'ft thou still oppose Thy leaden Ægis 'gainst our antient foes? Still stretch, tenacious of thy right divine, The maffy sceptre o'er thy slumb'ring line? And dews Lethean thro' the land difpense To fleep in flambers each benighted fense? If any fpark of Wit's delufive ray Break out, and flash a momentary day, With damp, cold touch forbid it to afpire, And huddle up in fogs the dangerous fire.

Oh fay—she hears me not, but careless grown, Lethargic nods upon her ebon throne. Goddess! awake, arise, alas my sears! Can powers immortal feel the force of years? Not thus of old, with ensigns wide unfurl'd, She rode triumphant o'er the vanquish'd world; Pierce nations own'd her unresisted might, And all was Ignorance, and all was Night.

Oh facred Age! O Times for ever loft!
(The School-man's glory, and the Church-man's boaft.)

For ever gone—yet still to Fancy new, Her rapid wings the transient scene pursue, And bring the buried ages back to view.

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High on her car, behold the Grandam ride Like old Sefoftris with barbaric pride: \* a team of harness'd monarchs bend

#### LETTER II.

Mr. GRAY to Dr. WHARTON.

Peterbouse, April 26, 1744. TOU write so feelingly to Mr. Brown, and represent your abandoned condition in terms fo touching, that what gratitude could not effect in feveral months, compassion has brought about in a few days; and broke that strong attachment, or rather allegiance, which I and all here owe to our fovereign Lady and Mistress, the President of Presidents and Head of Heads, (if I may be permitted to pronounce her name, that ineffable Octogrammaton) the power of Laziness. You must know she had been pleased to appoint me (in preference to so many old fervants of her's who had fpent their whole lives in qualifying themselves for the office) Grand Picker of straws and Push-pin Player to her Supinity (for that is her title). The first is much in the nature of Lord Prefident of the Council; and the other, like the Groom-Porter, only without the profit; but as they are both things of very great honour in this country, I considered with myself the load of envy attending such great charges; and besides, between you and me) I found myfelf unable to support the fatigue of keeping up the appearance that persons of fuch dignity must do, so I thought proper to decline it, and excused myself as well as I could. How-H 2

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ever, as you see such an affair must take up a good deal of time, and it has always been the policy of this court to proceed slowly, like the Imperial and that of Spain, in the dispatch of Business, you will on this account the easier forgive me, if I have not answered your Letter before.

You desire to know, it seems, what Character the Poem of your young friend bears here \*. I wonder that you ask the opinion of a Nation, where those, who pretend to judge, do not judge at all; and the rest (the wifer part) wait to catch the judgment of the world immediately above them; that is, Dick's and the Rainbow Coffee-houses. Your readier way would be to ask the Ladies that keep the Bars in those two theatres of Criticism. However to shew ryou that I am a judge as well as my Countrymen, I will tell you, though I have rather turned it over than read it. (but no matter; no more have they) that it feems to me above the midling; and now and then, for a little while, rifes even to the best, particularly in description. It is often obscure, and even unintelligible; and too much infected with the Hutchinson jargon. In thort, its great fault is, that it was published at least nine years too early. And fo methinks in a few words, " à là mode du Temple," I have very pertly dispatched what perhaps may for feveral years have employed a very ingenious man worth fifty of myself.

<sup>\*</sup> Pleasures of the Imagination: from the posthumous publication of Dr. Akinside's Poems, it should seem that the Author had very much the same Opinion asterwards of his own Work, which Mr. Gray here expresses: since he undertook a reform of it which must have given him, had he concluded it, as much trouble as if he had written it entirely new.

You are much in the right to have a taste for Socrates; he was a divine man. I must tell you, by way of news of the place, that the other day a certain new Professor made an Apology for him an hour long in the schools; and all the world brought in Socrates guilty, except the people of his own

College.

The muse is gone, and left me in far worse company; if she returns, you will hear of her. As to her child\* (since you are so good as to enquire after it) it is but a puling chit yet, not a bit grown to speak of; I believe, poor thing, it has got the worms that will carry it off at last. Mr. Trollope and I are in a course of Tar-Water; he for his present, and I for my suture distempers. If you think it will kill me, send away a man and horse directly; for I drink like a Fish. Your's, &c.

#### LETTER III.

#### Mr. GRAY to Dr. WHARTON.

Cambridge, Dec. 11, 1746.

I Would make you an excuse, (as indeed I ought) if they were a sort of thing I ever gave any credit to myself in these cases; but I know they are never true. Nothing so silly as Indolence when it hopes to disguise itself: every one knows it by its saunter, as they do his Majesty (God bless him) at a Masquerade, by the firmness of his tread and the elevation of his chin. However, somewhat I had to say that has a little shadow of reason in it. I have been in Town (I suppose you know) flaunting about

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<sup>\*</sup> He here means his Poem "De Principiis Cogitandi." See the last Section.

at all kind of public places with two friends lately returned from abroad. The world itself has some attractions in it to a folitary of fix years standing : and agreeable well-meaning people of fense (thank Heaven there are fo few of them) are my peculiar Magnet. It is no wonder then if I felt fome reluctance at parting with them fo foon; or if my spirits, when I returned back to my cell, should fink for a time, not indeed to ftorm and tempest, but a good deal below changeable. Besides, Seneca says (and my pitch of philosophy does not pretend to be much above Seneca) " Nunquam mores, quos " extuli, refero. Aliquid ex eo quod composui, "turbatur : aliquid ex his, quæ fugavi, redit." And it will happen to fuch as us, mere imps of Science. Well it may, when Wisdom herself is forced often

In sweet retired Solitude
To plume her feathers, and let grow her wings,
That in the various bustle of Resort
Were all too russed, and sometimes impair'd.

It is a foolish thing that without Money one cannot either live as one pleases, or where and with whom one pleases. Swift somewhere says, that Money is Liberty; and I fear Money is Friendship too and Society, and almost every external blessing. It is a great, though an ill-natured Comfort, to see most of those who have it in plenty, without Pleasure, without Liberty, and without Friends.

I am not altogether of your opinion as to your historical consolation in time of trouble: A calm Melancholy it may produce, a stiller fort of despair (and that only in some circumstances, and on some constitutions); but I doubt no real comfort or con-

tent can ever arise in the human mind, but from Hope.

I take it very ill you should have been in the twentieth year of the War\*, and yet fay nothing of the retreat before Syracuse: Is it, or is it not, the finest thing you ever read in your life? And how does Xenophon or Plutarch agree with you? For my part I read Aristotle, his Poetics, Politics, and Morals; though I do not well know which is which. In the first place, he is the hardest author by far I ever meddled with. Then he has a dry concifeness, that makes one imagine one is perufing a table of contents rather than a book : it taftes for all the world like chop'd hay, or rather like chop'd logic; for he has a violent affection to that art, being in some fort his own invention; so that he often lofes himfelf in little trifling distinctions and verbal niceties; and, what is worfe, leaves you to extricate him as well as you can. Thirdly, he has fuffered vaftly from the transcribers, as all authors of great brevity necessarily must. Fourthly and laftly, he has abundance of fine uncommon things, which make him well worth the pains he gives one. You see what you are to expect from him.

#### LETTER IV.

#### Mr. GRAY to Mr. WALPOLE.

Cambridge, 1747.

Had been absent from this place a few days, and at my return found Cibber's book † upon my H 4 table,

<sup>\*</sup> Thucydides, L. vii.

<sup>†</sup> Entitled "Observations on Cicero's Character," or some

table: I return you my thanks for it, and have already run over a considerable part; for who could refift Mrs. Letitia Pilkington's recommendation? (By the way, is there any fuch gentlewoman +? or has somebody put on the style of a scribbling woman's panegyric to deceive and laugh at Colley?) He feems to me full as pert and as dull as usual, There are whole pages of common-place stuff, that for stupidity might have been wrote by Dr. Waterland, or any other grave divine, did not the flirting faucy phrase give them at a distance an air of youth and gaiety: It is very true, he is often in the right with regard to Tully's weaknesses; but was there any one that did not fee them? Those, I imagine, that would find a man after God's own heart, are no more likely to trust the Doctor's recommendation than the Player's; and as to Reason and Truth, would they know their own faces, do you think, if they looked in the glass, and saw themfelves fo bedizened in tattered fringe and tarnished lace, in French jewels, and dirty furbelows, the frippery of a stroller's wardrobe?

Literature, to take it in its most comprehensive sense, and include every thing that requires invention or judgment, or barely application and industry, seems indeed drawing apace to its dissolution, and remarkably since the beginning of the war. I remember to have read Mr. Spence's pretty book; though (as he then had not been at Rome for the last time) it must have increased greatly since that in bulk. If you ask me what I read, I protest I do

fuch thing; for I have not the book by me, and it has been long fince forgot.

† This Lady made herself more known sometime after the date of this letter.

not recollect one fyllable; but only in general, that they were the best bred fort of men in the world, just the kind of frinds one would wish to meet in a fine fummer's evening, if one wished to meet any at all. The heads and tails of the dialogues, published separate in 16mo, would make the sweetest reading in natiur for young gentlemen of family and fortune, that are learning to dance\*. I rejoice to hear there is fuch a crowd of dramatical performances coming upon the stage. Agrippina can stay very well, she thanks you, and be damned at leifure: I hope in God you have not mentioned, or shewed to any body that scene (for trusting in its badness, I forgot to caution you concerning it); but I heard the other day, that I was writing a Play, and was told the name of it, which nobody here could know, I am fure. The employment you propose to me much better suits my inclination; but I much fear our joint-stock would hardly compose a small volume; what I have is less considerable than you would imagine, and of that little we should not be willing to publish all. \* \* \* +

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\* This ridicule on the Platonic way of dialogue (as it was aimed to be, tho' nothing less resembles it) is, in my opinion, admirable. Lord Shaftsbury was the first who brought it into vogue, and Mr. Spence (if we except a few Scotch writers) the last who practised it. As it has now been laid aside some years, we may hope, for the sake of true taste, that this frippery mode of composition will never come into fashion again; especially since Dr. Hurd has pointed out, by example as well as precept, wherein the true beauty of Dialogue-writing consists.

† What is here omitted was a short catalogue of Mr. West's poetry then in Mr. Gray's hands; the reader has seen as much of it in the three foregoing sections as I am persuaded his

This is all I can any where find. You, I imagine, may have a good deal more. I should not care how unwise the ordinary run of readers might think my affection for him, provided those few, that ever loved any body, or judged of any thing rightly, might, from such little remains, be moved to consider what he would have been; and to wish that heaven had granted him a longer life and a mind more at ease.

I fend you a few lines, tho' Latin, which you do not like, for the fake of the fubject \*; it makes part of a large defign, and is the beginning of the fourth book, which was intended to treat of the passions. Excuse the three first verses; you know vanity, with the Romans, is a poetical license.

#### LETTER V.

#### Mr. GRAY to Mr. WALPOLE.

Cambridge, 1747.

I Have abundance of thanks to return you for the entertainment Mr. Spence's book has given me,

friend would have published, had he prosecuted the task which Mr. Walpole recommended to him, that of printing his own and Mr. West's Poems in the same volume; and which we also perceive from this letter, he was not averse from doing. This therefore seems to vindicate the Editor's plan in arranging these papers; as he is enabled by it not only to shew what Mr. West would have been, but what Mr. Gray was, I mean not as a Poet, for that the world knew before, but as an universal Scholar, and (what is still of more consequence) as an excellent moral Man.

\* The admirable Apostrophe to Mr. West, see page 162.

which I have almost run over already; and I much fear (see what it is to make a figure) the breadth of the margin, and the neatness of the prints, which are far better done than one could expect, have prevailed upon me to like it far better than I did in manuscript; for I think it is not the very genteel deportment of Polymetis, nor the lively wit of Mysa-

getes, that have at all corrupted me.

There is one fundamental fault, from whence most of the little faults throughout the whole arise. He professes to neglect the Greek writers, who could have given him more instruction on the very heads he professes to treat, than all the others put together; who does not know, that upon the Latin, the Sabine, and Hetruscan mythology (which probably might themselves, at a remoter period of time. owe their origin to Greece too) the Romans ingrafted almost the whole religion of Greece to make what is called their own? It would be hard to find any one circumstance that is properly of their invention. In the ruder days of the republic, the picturesque part of their religion (which is the province he has chose, and would be thought to confine himfelf to) was probably borrowed entirely from the Tuscans, who, as a wealthy and trading people, may be well supposed, and indeed are known, to have had the arts flourishing in a confiderable degree among them. What could inform him here, but Dio. Halicarnassus (who expressly treats of those times with great curiofity and industry) and the remains of the first Roman writers & The former he has neglected as a Greek ; and the latter, he fays, were but little acquainted with the arts, and consequently are but of small authority. In the better ages, when

when every temple and public building in Rome was peopled with imported deities and heroes, and when all the artifts of reputation they made use of were Greeks, what wonder, if their eyes grew familiarised to Grecian forms and habits (especially in a matter of this kind, where so much depends upon the imagination); and if those figures introduced with them belief of fuch fables, as first gave them being, and dreffed them out in their various attributes, it was natural then, and (I should think) necessary, to go to the source itself, the Greek accounts of their own religion; but, to fay the truth, I suspect he was little conversant in those books and that language; for he rarely quotes any but Lucian, an author that falls in every body's way, and who lived at the very extremity of that period he has fet to his enquiries, later than any of the poets he has meddled with, and for that reason ought to have been regarded as but an indifferent authority; especially being a Syrian too. His book (as he fays himfelf) is, I think, rather a beginning than a perfect work; but a beginning at the wrong end: For if any body should finish it by enquiring into the Greek mythology, as he propofes, it will be necessary to read it backward.

There are feveral little neglects, that one might have told him of, which I noted in reading it hastily; of page 311, a discourse about orange-trees, occasioned by Virgil's "inter odoratum lauri nemus," where he fancies the Roman Laurus to be our Laurel; tho undoubtedly the bay-tree, which is odoratum, and (I believe) still called Lauro, or Alloro, at Rome, and that the "Malum Medicum" in the Georgick is the orange; tho Theophrastus, whence Virgil borrowed it, or even Pliny whom he

he himself quotes, might convince him it is the cedrato which he has often tafted at Florence. Page 144 is an account of Domenichino's Cardinal Virtues, and a fling at the Jesuits, neither of which belong to them: The painting is in a church of the Barnibiti, dedicated to St. Carlo Borromeo, whose motto is HUMILITAS. Page 151, in a note, he fays the old Romans did not regard Fortune as a Deity: tho' Servius Tullius (whom she was said to be in love with; nay, there was actually an affair between them) founded her temple in Foro Boario. way, her worship was Greek, and this king was educated in the family of Tarquinius Priscus, whose father was a Corinthian; so it is easy to conceive how early the religion of Rome might be mixed with that of Greece, &c. &c.

Dr. Middleton has fent to me to-day a book on the Roman Senate, the substance of a dispute between Lord Hervey and him, tho' it never interrupted their friendship, he says, and I dare say not.

# LETTER VI.

#### Mr. GRAY to Mr WAPLOLE.

A Sone ought to be particularly careful to avoid blunders in a compliment of condolence, it would be a fensible fatisfaction to me (before I testify my forrow, and the fincere part I take in your misfortune) to know for certain, who it is I lament. I knew Z ara and Selima, (Selima, was it? or Fatima) or rather I knew them both together; for I can-

not justly say which was which. Then as to your handsome Cat, the name you distinguish her by, I am no less at a loss, as well knowing one's handsome cat is always the cat one likes best; or, if one be alive and the other dead, it is usually the latter that is the handsomest. Besides, if the point were never so clear, I hope you do not think me so ill-bred or so imprudent as to forfeit all my interest in the survivor: Oh no! I would rather seem to mistake, and imagine to be sure it must be the tabby one that had met with this sad accident. Till this affair is a little better determined, you will excuse me if I do not begin to cry:

"Tempus in an e peto, requiem, spatium que doloris." Which interval is the more convenient, as it gives time to rejoice with you on your new honors. This is only a beginning; I reckon next week we shall hear you are a Free-Mason, or a Gormogon at least—Heigh ho! I feel (as you to be sure have done long since) that I have very little to say, at least in prose. Somebody will be the better for it; I do not mean you, but your Cat, seue Mademoiselle Selime, whom I am about to immortalize for one week or fortnight, as follows \*\*\*\*. There's a Poem for you, it is rather too long for an Epitaph.

\* Mr. Walpole was about this time elected a Fellow of the Royal Society.

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The reader need hardly be told, that the 4th Ode in the Collection of his Poems was inferted in the place of these afterisks. This letter (as some other slight ones have been) is printed chiefly to mark the date of one of his compositions.

#### LETTER VII.

## Mr. GRAY to Mr. WHARTON.

Stoke, June 5, 1745. Y OUR friendship has interested itself in my affairs so naturally, that I cannot help troubling you a little with a detail of them +. \* \* And now, my dear Wharton, why must I tell you a thing fo contrary to my own wishes and yours? I believe it is impossible for me to see you in the North, or to enjoy any of those agreeable hours I had flattered myself with. This business will oblige me to be in town feveral times during the fummer, particularly in August, when half the money is to be paid; besides the good people here would think me the most careless and ruinous of mortals, if I should take such a journey at this time. The only satisfaction I can pretend to, is that of hearing from you, and particularly at this time when I was bid to expect the good news of an encrease of your family. Your opinion of Diodorus is doubtless right; but there are things in him very curious, got out of better authorities now loft. Do you remember the Ægyptian history, and particularly the account of the gold mines? My own readings have been cruelly interrupted: What I have been highly pleafed with,

†The paragraph here omitted contained an account of Mr. Gray's loss of a house by fire in Cornhill, and the expence he should be at in rebuilding it. Though it was insured, he could at this time ill bear to lay out the additional sum necessary for the purpose.

is the new Comedy from Paris by Greffet, called le Mechant; if you have it not, buy his works altogether in two little volumes, they are collected by the Dutch booksellers, and consequently contain fome trash; but then there are the Ver-vero, the Epistleto P. Bougeant, the Chartreuse, that to his fifter, an Ode on his country, and another on Mediocrity, and the Sidnei, another Comedy, all which have great beauties: There is also a Poem lately published by Thomson, called the Castle of Indolence, with some good stanzas in it. Mr. Mason is my acquaintance; I liked that Ode \* much, but have found no one else that did. He has much fancy. little judgment, and a good deal of modesty; I take him for a good and well-meaning creature : but then he is really in simplicity a child, and loves every body he meets with: He reads little or nothing: writes abundance, and that with a defign to make his fortune by it. My best compliments to Mrs. Whar-

Ode to a Water Nymph, published about this time in Dodfley's Miscellany, On reading what follows, many readers, I suspect, will think me as simple as ever, in forbearing to expunge the paragraph: But as I publish Mr. Gray's fentiments of authors, as well living as dead, without referve. I should do them injustice, if I was more scrupulous with respect to myself. My friends, I am sure, will be much amused with this and another passage hereafter of a like fort. My enemies, if they please, may sneer at it; and say (which they will very truly) that twenty-five years have made a very confiderable abatement in my general philanthropy. Men of the world will not blame me for writing from fo prudent a motive, as that of making my fortune by it; and yet the truth, I believe, at the time was, that I was perfectly well fatisfied, if my publications furnished me with a few guineas to fee a Play or an Opera.

ton and your family: Does that name include any body I am not yet acquainted with?

#### LETTER VIII.

## Mr. GRAY to Dr. WHARTON.

Stoke, August 19, 1748.

I Am glad you have had any pleasure in Gresset; he seems to me a truly elegant and charming writer; the Mechant is the best Comedy I ever read; his Edward I could scarce get through; it is puerile; though there are good lines, such as this for exam-

ple:
"Le jour d'un nouveau regne est le jour des in-

grats."
But good lines will make any thing rather than a play: However you are to confider this is a collection made up by the Dutch bookfellers; many things unfinished, or written in his youth, or defigned not for the world, but to make his friends laugh, as the Lutrin vivant, &c. There are two noble lines; which, as they are in the middle of an Ode to the King, may perhaps have escaped you.

"Le crid'un peuple heureux est la seule eloquence,

" Qui sçait parler des Rois."

Which is very true, and should have been a hint to

himself not to write Odes to the King at all.

As I have nothing more to say at present, I fill my paper with the beginning of an Essay; what name to give it I know not; but the subject is the Alliance of Education and Government: I mean to shew that they must both concur to produce great and useful men. I desire your judgment upon it before I proceed any further.

The first fifty-seven verses of an Ethical Essay accompanied this letter, which I shall here insert, with about fifty lines more, all of them finished in his highest manner. Had this noble design been compleated, I may, with great boldness, affert that it would have been one of the most capital Poems of the kind that ever appeared either in our own or any language. I am not informed how many Essays he meant to write upon the subject; nor do I believe that he had ever so far settled his plan as to determine that point : But fince his theme was as extensive as human nature, (an observation he himself makes in a subsequent letter on the "Esprit des Loix") it is plain the whole work would have been confiderable in point of fize. He was bufily employed in it at the time when M. de Montesquieu's book was first published: On reading it, he faid the Baron had forestalled some of his best thoughts; and yet the reader will find, from the small fragment he has left, that the two writers differ a little in one very material point, viz. the influence of foil and climate on national manners\*. Some time after he had thoughts of refuming his plan, and of dedicating it, by an introductory Ode, to M. de Montesquieu; but that great man's death, which happened in 1755, made him drop his defign finally.

<sup>\*</sup> See L'Esprit des Loix, Liv. 14. chap. a, &c.

On carefully reviewing the scattered papers in prose, which he writ, as hints for his own use in the prosecution of this work, I think it best to form part of them into a kind of commentary at the bottom of the pages; they will serve greatly to elucidate (as far as they go) the method of his reasoning.

## ESSAY I.

Ούτι πω είς Αίδαν γε τον εκλελάθοντα φυλαξές.

THEOCRITUS.

A S fickly Plants betray a niggard earth,
Whose barren bosom starves her gen'rous birth,
Nor genial warmth, nor genial juice retains
Their roots to feed, and fill their verdant veins:
And as in climes, where Winter holds his reign
The soil, tho' fertile, will not teem in vain,
Forbids her gems to swell, her shades to rise,
Nor trusts her blossoms to the churlish skies:

#### COMMENTARY.

The Author's subject being (as we have seen) The Necessary Alliance between a good Form of Government and a good Mode of Education, in order to produce the Happiness of Mankind, the Poem opens with two similies; an uncommon kind of exordium: but which I suppose the Poet intentionally chose, to intimate

#### NOTES.

[As fickly Plants, &c. 1. 1.] If any copies of this Essay would have authorized me to have made an alteration in the disposition of the lines, I would, for the sake of perspicuity,

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So draw Mankind in vain the vital airs,
Unform'd, unfriended, by those kindly cares,
That health and vigour to the soul impart,
Spread the young thought, and warm the opening
heart:

So fond instruction on the growing powers Of nature idly lavishes her stores, If equal Justice with unclouded face Smile not indulgent on the rising race,

And

15

#### COMMENTARY.

intimate the analogical method he meant to pursue in his subsequent reasonings. 1st, He afferts that men without education are like sickly plants in a cold or barren soil, (line 1 to 5, and 8 to 12;) and, 2dly, he compares them, when unblest with

#### NOTES.

have printed the first twelve in the following manner; because I think the poetry would not have been in the least hurt by such a transposition, and the Poet's meaning would have been much more readily perceived. I put them down here for that purpose.

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The soil, tho' fertile, will not teem in vain,
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Nor trust her blossoms to the churlish skies:
So fond Instruction, &c.

That

And scatter with a free, tho' frugal hand
Light golden showers of plenty o'er the land:
But Tyranny has fix'd her empire there
To check their tender hopes with chilling fear,
And blast the blooming promise of the year.

This spacious animated scene survey, From where the rolling Orb, that gives the day, His fable fons with nearer course fourrounds To either pole, and life's remotest bounds 25 How rude foe'er th' exterior form we find. Howe'er opinion tinge the varied mind, Alike, to all the kind, impartial Heav'n The sparks of truth and happiness has giv'n: With fense to feel, with memory to retain, 30 They follow pleafure, and they fly from pain : Their judgment mends the plan their fancy draws, Th' event presages, and explores the cause: The foft returns of gratitude they know, By fraud elude, by force repel the foe; 35 While mutual wishes, mutual woes endear The focial smile and sympathetic tear.

Say, then, thro' ages by what fate confin'd
To different climes feem different fouls affign'd.
Here measur'd laws and philosophic ease
Fix, and improve the posish'd arts of peace.
There industry and gain their vigils keep,
Command the winds, and tame th' unwilling deep.
Here force and hardy deeds of blood prevail;
There languid pleasure sighs in every gale.

45

## COMMENTARY.

with a just and well regulated government, to plants that will not blossom or bear fruit in an unkindly and inclement air (1.5 to 9, and 1.13 to 22). Having thus laid down the two propositions he means to prove, he begins by examining

Oft o'er the trembling nations from afar
Has Scythia breath'd the living cloud of war;
And, where the deluge burst, with sweepy sway
Their arms, their kings, their gods were roll'd away.
As oft have issued, host impelling host,

The blue-eyed myriads from the Baltic coast.

The

#### COMMENTARY.

into the characteristics which (taking a general view of mankind) all men have in common one with another (1. 22 to 39); they

#### NOTES.

[ Has Scythia breath'd, &c. 1. 47.] The most celebrated of the early irruptions of the Scythians into the neighbouring countries is that under the conduct of Madyes, about the year of the creation 3350, when they broke into Afia, during the reign of Cyaxares, king of the Medes, and conqueror of the Affyrians, plundered it at discretion, and kept possession of it during twenty-eight years. Many successive incursions, at. tended with every kind of defolation, are enumerated by historians; particularly those, in A. D. 252, during the reign of Gallus and Volusianus, and in 261, under that of Gallienus. Under the Greek emperors also to mention only the years 1053 and 1191, it appears that the Scythians still continued their accustomed ravages. In later times, the like spirit of fudden and diffructive invasion has conftantly prevailed; and these same Scythians, under their modern name of Tartars, have at different periods, over-run Afia, and even some parts of Europe : it is sufficient, on this point, to recall to the reader's memory the names of Gingis-Chan, Octai, and Tamerlane.

[The blue-eyed myriads, &c. l. 51.] The different nations of Germans, who inhabited or bordered on this coast, have been always distinguished by their various emigrations in search of a better soil and climate, and of a more commodious settlement. The reader will readily recollect the expedition of the Teutones, who joined the Cimbri, when they invaded

The proftrate South to the Destroyer yields
Her boasted titles, and her golden sields:
With grim delight the Brood of winter view
A brighter day, and Heav'ns of azure hue,
Scent the new fragrance of the breathing rose,
And quast the pendent vintage as it grows.
Proud of the yoke, and pliant to the rod,
Why yet does Asia dread a monarch's nod,
While European freedom still withstands
Th' encroaching tide, that drowns her lessening lands;
And

#### COMMENTARY

they covet pleasure and avoid pain (l. 31); they feel gratitude for benefits (l. 34); they defire to avenge wrongs, which they effect either by force or cunning (l. 35); they

#### NOTES.

invaded the Roman territories to the united amount, it is faid, of 300,000 fighting men; the many inroads of the Germans into Gaul, under the conduct of Arioviflus; and the numerous irruptions, into the Roman empire, of the Suevi, the Goths, the Vandals, and lastly of the Lombards; most of which nations came originally from the coasts here mentioned. The epithet "blue-eyed" exhibits a distinguishing feature of the antient Germans; and is particularly remarked by Tacitus and Juvenal. "Truces et cærulei oculi," observes the former, "de Popul: German: 4." and the latter, "Cærula quis stupuit Germani lumina?" "Sat 13. ver. 164."

[With grim delight, &c. 1. 54.] It may not be improper here, after admiring the noble vein of poetical expression and imagery which adorns this description, to relate an incident in itself curious, which shews the propriety of it. The Normans, who came originally from Norway and Scandinavia, having, after a century of ravages, settled themselves in Neustria (since called Normandy) in 1012, were invited into the southern

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And fees far off with an indignant groan Her native plains, and Empires once her own. Can opener skies and suns of fiercer flame O'erpower the fire, that animates our frame : 65 As lamps, that shed at eve a chearful ray, Fade and expire beneath the eye of day? Need we the influence of the Northern flar To ftring our nerves and fteel our hearts to war? And, where the face of nature laughs around. 70 Must fick'ning virtue fly the tainted ground? Unmanly thought! what feafons can controul. What fancied zone can circumscribe the soul. Who, conscious of the source from whence she springs, By reason's light, on resolution's wings, 75 Spite

#### COMMENTARY.

are linked to each other by their common feelings, and participate in forrow and in joy (1. 36, 37). If then all the human species agree in so many moral particulars, whence arifes the diversity of national characters? This question the Poet puts at line 38, and dilates upon to 1. 64. Why, says he, have some nations shewn a propensity to commerce and industry; others to war and rapine; others to ease and pleasure? (1. 42 to 46) Why have the Northern people overspread, in all ages, and prevailed over the Southern? (1. 46)

#### NOTES.

fouthern parts of Italy, in the year 1018, by Gaimar prince of Salerno. The Ambassadors, by his particular direction, carried with them a quantity of Citrons, and of other rare fruits, as the most alluring proof of the mildness of the climate. He thought (and the event showed he was right in thinking so) that this "Brood of winter," delighted with the taste and fragrance of these delicacies, would the more readily consent to his proposal. [See Leo Ostiensis in his "Chron: Cassin:"

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to 58)

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Spite of her frail companion, dauntless goes
O'er Lybia's deserts and thro' Zembla's snows?
She bids each flamb'ring energy awake,
Another touch, another temper take,
Suspends th' inserior laws, that rule our clay:
The stubborn elements confess her sway;
Their little wants, their low desires, refine,
And raise the mortal to a height divine.

Not but the human fabric from the birth
Imbibes a flavour of its parent earth.

As various tracts enforce a various toil,
The manners speak the idiom of their soil.
An iron-race the mountain-cliffs maintain,
Foes to the gentler genius of the plain:
For where unwearied sinews must be found
With side-long plough to quell the flinty ground,
To turn the torrent's swift-descending slood,
To brave the savage rushing from the wood,
What wonder, if to patient valour train'd
They guard with spirit, what by strength they
gain'd?

#### COMMENTARY.

to 58) Why has Asia been, time out of mind, the seat of despotism, and Europe that of freedom? (1. 59 to 64.) Are we from these instances to imagine men necessarily enslaved to the inconveniences of the climate where they were born? (1. 64 to 72) Or are we not rather to suppose there is a natural

## NOTES.

and Petavius, Rationarium Temp: pars: prim: lib: viii."]

Mr. Gray's judgment, in what remains to us of this effay, is ery remarkable. He borrows from poetry his imagery, his imilies, and his expressions; but his thoughts are taken, as he nature of the Poem requires, from history and obsertion.

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I

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And while their rocky ramparts round they fee,
The rough abode of want and liberty,
(As lawless force from confidence will grow)
Infult the plenty of the vales below?
What wonder in the fultry climes, that spread, 100
Where Nile redundant o'er his summer-bed
From his broad bosom life and verdure slings,
And broods o'er Ægypt with his wat'ry wings,
If with advent'rous oar and ready sail
The dusky people drive before the gale;
Or

#### COMMENTARY.

ral strength in the human mind, that is able to vanquish and break through them ? (1. 72 to 84) It is confest, however, that men receive an early tincture from the fituation they are placed in, and the climate which produces them (1. 84 to 88). Thus the inhabitants of the mountains, inured to labour and patience, are naturally trained to war (1.88 to 96); while those of the plain are more open to any attack, and softened by ease and plenty (1. 96 to 99). Again, the Ægyptians, from the nature of their fituation, might be the inventors of home-navigation, from a necessity of keeping upan intercourse between their towns during the inundation of the Nile (1. 99 to \* \* \* \*). Those persons would naturally have the first turn to commerce, who inhabited a barren coast like the Tyrians, and were persecuted by some neighbouring tyrant; or were drove to take refuge on fome shoals, like the Venetian and Hollander; their discovery of some rich island, in the infancy of the world,

#### NOTES.

[And broods o'er Ægypt, &c. l. 103.] The image feems to be taken from the figure of Jupiter Pluvius, as represented on the Antonine Pillar: But the whole passage rises to a height beyond the powers either of sculpture or painting to ascend. The critic would, with difficulty, find any description in antiquity, which exceeds this in point of true sublimity.

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Or on frail floats to neighb'ring cities ride, That rife and glitter o'er the ambient tide.

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#### COMMENTARY.

world, described. The Tartar hardened to war by his rigorous climate and pastoral life, and by his disputes for water and herbage in a country without land-marks, as also by skirmishes between his rival clans, was consequently sitted to conquer his rich Southern neighbours, whom ease and luxury had enervated: Yet this is no proof that liberty and valour may not exist in Southern climes, since the Syrians and Carthaginians gave noble instances of both; and the Arabians carried their conquests as far as the Tartars. Rome also (for many centuries) repulsed those very nations, which, when she grew weak, at length demolished \* her extensive Empire. \*\*\*

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[That rise and glitter o'er the ambient tide, 1. 107.] The foregoing account of the river Nile, while it is embellished with all the graces of description, is given at the same time in exact conformity to truth and reality; as the reader will observe from the following citation.—"Le Nil portoit par tout "la fécondité avec ses eaux salutaires, unissoit les villes entre "elles, et la grande mer avec la mer rouge, entretenoit le "commerce au dedans et au dehors du Royaume, et le fortificit contre l'ennemi: de sorte qu'il étoit tout ensemble et le "nourricier, et le désenseur de l'Egypte. On lui abandonnoit la campagne: mais les villes, rehaussées avec des tra"vaux immenses, et s'élevant comme des Illes au milieu des
"eaux, regardoient avec joye de cette hauteur toute la plaine
"inondée et tout ensemble fertilisée par le Nil." Bossuet,
"Disc: sur l'Hist: trois: part:

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\* The Reader will perceive that the Commentary goes further than the Text. The reason for which is, that the Editor found it so on the paper from which he formed that comment; and as the thoughts seemed to be those which Mr. Gray

## LETTER IX.

## Mr. GRAY to Dr. WHARTON.

Cambridge, March 9, 1748. TOU afk for fome account of books. The principal I can tell you of is a work of the Prefident Montesquieu, the labour of twenty years; it is called L'Esprit des Loix, 2 vols. 4to, printed at Geneva. He lays down the principles on which are founded the three forts of government. Defpotifm.

would have next graced with the harmony of his numbers. he held it best to give them in continuation. There are other maxims on different papers, all apparently relating to the same subject, which are too excellent to be lost; these therefore (as the place in which he meant to employ them cannot be ascertained) I shall subjoin to this note under the title of detached Sentiments.

" Man is a creature not capable of cultivating his mind but in fociety, and in that only where he is not a flave to the ne-

ceffities of life.

Want is the mother of the inferior arts, but ease that of the finer ; as eloquence, policy, morality, poetry, sculpture, painting, architecture, which are the improvements of the former.

The climate inclines fome nations to contemplation and pleasure; others to hardship, action, and war; but not so as to incapacitate the former for courage and discipline, or the latter for civility, politeness, and works of genius.

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It is the proper work of education and government united

to redress the faults that arise from the foil and air.

The principal drift of education should be to make men think in the Northern chimates, and all in the Southern.

The different steps and degrees of education may be compared to the artificer's operations upon marble; it is one thing to dig it out of the quarry, and another to square it;

tism, the limited Monarchy, and the Republican; and shews how from these are deduced the laws and customs by which they are guided and maintained: the education proper to each form; the influence of climate, lituation, religion, &c. on the minds of particular nations and on their policy. The subject, you see, is as extensive as mankind; the thoughts perfectly new, generally admirable as they are just, sometimes a little too refined. In short, there

to give it gloss and lustre, call forth every beautiful spot and vein, shape it into a column, or animate it into a statue.

To a native of free and happy governments his country is always dear :

"He loves his old hereditary trees." COWLEY.

While the subject of a tyrant has no country; he is therefore felfish and bale-minded; he has no family, no posterity, no defire of fame; or, if he has, of one that turns not on its

Any nation that wants public spirit, neglects education, ridicules the defire of fame, and even of virtue and reason,

must be ill governed.

Commerce changes intirely the fate and genius of nations, by communicating arts and opinions, circulating money, and introducing the materials of luxury; the first opens and polifes the mind, then corrupts and enervates both that and

the body.

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Those invasions of effeminate Southern nations by the warlike Northern people, feem (in spite of all the terror, mischief, and ignorance which they brought with them) to be necessary evils; in order to revive the spirit of mankind, softened and broken by the arts of commerce, to reftore them to their native liberty and equality, and to give them again the power of supporting danger and hardship; so a comet with all the horsors that attend it as it passes through our system brings a sapply of warmth and light to the fan, and of moisture to the air.

The doctrine of Epicurus is ever ruinous to fociety: It had its rife when Greece was declining, and perhaps haftened its dissolution. are faults, but fuch as an ordinary man could never have committed. The style very lively and concise (consequently sometimes obscure); it is the gravity of Tacitus, whom he admires, tempered with the gaiety and fire of a Frenchman. The time of night will not suffer me to go on; but I will write again in a week.

diffolution, as also that of Rome; it is now propagated in France and in England, and seems likely to produce the same effect in both.

thought perfectly ago, accordedly admirable

One principal characteristic of vice in the present age is the

contempt of fame.

dillo actors.

Many are the uses of good fame to a generous mind: it extends our existence and example into suture ages; continues and propagates virtue, which otherwise would be as short-lived as our frame; and prevents the prevalence of vice in a generation more corrupt even than our own. It is impossible to conquer that natural desire we have of being remembered; even criminal ambition and avarice, the most selfish of all passions, would wish to leave a name behind them."

I find also among these papers a single couplet much too beautiful to be lost, though the place where he meant to introduce it cannot be ascertained; it must however, have made a part of some description of the effect which the re-

formation had on our national manners:

When Love could teach a monarch to be wife, And Goipel-light first dawn'd from Bullen's Eyes.

Thus, with all the attention that a connoisseur in painting employs in collecting every slight outline as well as sinished drawing which led to the completion of some capital picture, I have endeavoured to preserve every fragment of this great poetical design. It surely deserved this care, as it was one of the noblest which Mr. Gray ever attempted; and also, as far as he carried it into execution, the most exquisitely sinished. That he carried it no further is, and must ever be, a most sensible loss to the republic of letters.

## LETTER X.

## Mr. GRAY to Dr. WHARTON.

Cambridge, April 25, 1749.

T Perceive that second parts are as bad to write as I they can be to read; for this, which you ought to have had a week after the first, has been a full month in coming forth. The foirit of laziness (the fpirit of the place) begins to possess even me, who have so long declaimed against it; yet has it not so prevailed, but that I feel that discontent with myfelf, that ennui, that ever accompanies it in its beginnings. Time will fettle my conscience; time will reconcile me to this languid companion: We shall smoke, we shall tipple, we shall doze together: We shall have our little jokes like other people, and our old stories: Brandy will finish what Port began; and a month after the time you will fee in some corner of a London Evening Post, "Yesterday died " the Reverend Mr. John Gray, Senior Fellow of " Clare-Hall, a facetions companion, and well-" respected by all that knew him. His death is " supposed to have been occasioned by a fit of an " apoplexy, being found fallen out of bed with his " head in the chamber-pot."

In the meanwhile, to go on with my account of new Books. Montesquieu's work, which I mentioned before, is now publishing anew in 2 vols. cctavo. Have you seen old Crebillion's Catilina, a Tragedy, which has had a prodigious run at Paris? Historical truth is too much perverted in it, which

is ridiculous in a story so generally known; but if you can get over this, the sentiments and versification are fine, and most of the characters (particularly the principal one) painted with great spirit.

Mr. Birch, the indefatigable, has just put out a thick octavo of original papers of Queen Elizabeth's time; there are many curious things in it, particularly letters from Sir Robert Cecil (Salisbury) about his negociations with Henry IV. of France, the Earl of Monmouth's odd account of Queen Elizabeth's death, several peculiarities of James I. and Prince Henry, &c. and above all an excellent account of the state of France, with characters of the king, his court, and ministry, by Sir George Carew, ambassador there. This, I think, is all new worth mentioning, that I have seen or heard of; except a Natural History of Peru, in Spanish, printed at London, by Don—fomething, a man of learning, sent thither by that court on purpose.

You ask after my chronology. It was begun, as I told you, almost two years ago, when I was in the midst of Diogenes Laertius and his Philosophers, as a processium to their works. My intention in forming this table was not so much for public events, though these too have a column assigned them, but rather in a literary way to compare the time of all great men, their writings, and their transactions. I have brought it from the 30th Olympiad, where it begins, to the 113th; that is, 332 years. My only modern assistants were Marsham, Dodwell, and Bentley.

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<sup>\*</sup> This laborious work was formed much in the manner of the President Henault's 46 Histoire de France." Every page consisted

I have fince that read Pausanias and Athenaus all through, and Æschylus again. I am now in Pindat and Lysias; for I take verse and prose together like bread and cheese.

## LETTER XI.

## Mr. GRAY to Dr. WHARTON.

Cambridge, August 8, 1740. Promised Dr. Keene long since to give you an account of our magnificences here : but the news papers and he himself in person have got the fart of my indolence, to that by this time you are well acquainted with all the events that adorned that week of wonders. Thus much I may venture to tell you, because it is probable nobody else has done it, that our friend \* \* \* \* s zeal and eloquence surpassed all power of description. Vefuvio in an eruption was not more violent than his atterance, (nor fince I am at my mountains) Pelion, with all its pine-trees in a fform of wind, more impetuous than his action; and yet the Senate-House still stands, and (I thank God) we are all safe and wellat your fervice. I was ready to fink for him, and

tonfifted of nine columns; one for the Olympiad, the next for the Archons, the third for the public affairs of Greece, the three next for the Philosophers, and the three last for Poets, Historians, and Orators. I do not find it carried further than the date above-mentioned.

The Duke of Newcastle's Installation as Chancellor of the University,

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The Duke of Newcastle's Installation as Chancellor of the University.

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scarce dared to look about me, when I was fure it was all over; but foon found I might have spared my confusion; all people joined to applaud him. Every thing was quite right; and I dare swear, not three people here but think him a model of oratory; for all the Duke's little court came with a resolution to be pleased; and when the tone was once given. the university, who ever wait for the judgment of their betters, ftruck into it with an admirable harmony: for the rest of the performances, they were just what they usually are. Every one, while it lasted, was very gay and very busy in the morning, and very owlish and very tipsy at night: I make no exceptions from the Chancellor to Blue-coat. fon's Ode was the only entertainment that had any tolerable elegance; and, for my own part, I think it (with fome little abatements) uncommonly well on such an occasion. Pray let me know your sentiments; for doubtless you have seen it. The author of it grows apace into my good graces, as I know him more; he is very ingenious with great good nature and fimplicity; a little vain, but in fo harmless and fo comical a way, that it does not offend one at all; a little ambitious, but withal so ignorant in the world and its ways, that this does not hurt him in one's opinion; so fincere and so undisguised, that no mind with a spark of generosity, would ever think of hurting him, he lies so open to injury; but so indolent, that if he cannot overcome this habit, all his good qualities will fignify nothing at all. After all, I like him fo well, I could wish you knew him.

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## LETTER XII.

#### Mr. GRAY to his MOTHER.

Cambridge, Nov. 7, 1749.

THE unhappy news I have just received from you equally furprifes and afflicts me \*. I have loft a person I lov'd very much, and have been used to from my infancy; but am much more concerned for your loss, the circumstances of which I forbear to dwell upon, as you must be too sensible of them yourfelf; and will, I fear, more and more need a confolation that no one can give, except He who has preserved her to you, so many years, and at last, when it was his pleasure, has taken her from us to himself: and perhaps, if we reflect upon what fhe felt in this life, we may look upon this as an inflance of his goodness both to her, and to those that loved her. She might have languished many years before our eyes in a continual increase of pain, and totally helples; she might have long wished to end her misery without being able to attain it; or perhaps even loft all fense, and yet continued to breathe; a fad spectacle to such as must have felt more for her than she could have done for herself. However you may deplore your own loss, yet think that she is

<sup>\*</sup> The death of his aunt, Mrs. Mary Antrobus, who died the 5th of November, and was buried in a vault in Stoke church yard near the chancel door, in which also his mother and himself (according to the direction in his will) were afterwards buried.

easy and happy; and has now more occasion to pity us than we her. I hope, and beg, you will support yourself with that resignation we owe to him, who gave us our being for our good, and who deprives us of it for the same reason. I would have come to you directly, but you do not say whether you desire I should or not; if you do, I beg I may know it, for there is nothing to hinder me, and I am in very good health.

## LETTER XIII.

## Mr. GRAY to Dr. WHARTON.

Stoke, August 9, 1750.

A RISTOTLE says (one may write Greek to you without scandal) that Oi Tonorai Staduoust the quality and Signal of the propost a touria yountar if the quality sous and the work of the policy of a touria yountar if the quality sous and the work of the superior of t

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But Aristotle may say whatever he pleases, I do not find myself at all the worse for it. I could indeed wish to refresh my Erepsea a little at Durham by the fight of you, but when is there a probability of my being so happy? It concerned me greatly when I heard the other day that your assume continued at times to afflict you, and that you were often obliged to go into the country to breathe; you cannot oblige me more than by giving me an account both of the state of your body and mind: I hope the latter is able to keep you chearful and easy in spite of the frailties

frailties of its companion. As to my own, it can neither do one nor the other; and I have the mortification to find my spiritual part the most infirm thing about me. You have doubtless heard of the loss I have had in Dr. Middleton, whose house was the only easy place one could find to converse in at Cambridge: For my part I find a friend so uncommon a thing, that I cannot help regretting even an old acquaintance, which is an indifferent likeness of it; and though I do not approve the spirit of his books, methinks 'tis pity the world should lose so rare a

thing as a good writer .

My studies cannot furnish a recommendation of many new books to you. There is a defence "de l'Esprit des Loix," by Montesquien himself ; it has fome lively things in it, but is very thort, and his adversary appears to be so mean a bigot that he deferved no answer. There are 3 vols. in 4to of " Histoire du Cabinet du Roy, by Messrs. Bussons and d'Aubenton;" the first is a man of character, but I am told has hurt it by this work. It is all a fort of introduction to natural history : the weak part of it is a love of fystem which runs through it; the most contrary thing in the world to a science entirely grounded upon experiments, and which has nothing to do with † vivacity of imagination. However I cannot help commending the general view which he gives of the face of the earth, followed by a particular one of all the known nations, their peculiar figure and manners, which is the best epi-

<sup>&</sup>quot;Mr. Gray used to say, that good writing not only required great parts, but the very best of those parts.

<sup>†</sup> One cannot therefore help lamenting, that Mr. Gray let his imagination lie dormant so frequently, in order to apply himself to this very science.

tome of geography I ever met with, and written with sense and elegance; in short, these books are well worth turning over. The Memoirs of the Abbé de Mongon, in sive vols. are highly commended, but I have not seen them. He was engaged in several embassies to Germany, England, &c. during the course of the late war. The President Henault's "Abrege Chronologique de l'Histoire de France," I believe I have before mentioned to you as a very good book of its kind.

About this time Mr. Gray had put his last hand to his celebrated Elegy in a Country Church-yard, and had communicated it to his friend Mr. Walpole, whose good tafte was too much charmed with it to fuffer him to withhold the fight of it from his acquaintance; accordingly it was shewn about for fometime in manuscript, (as Mr. Gray intimates in the subsequent letter to Dr. Wharton) and received with all the applause it so justly merited. Amongst the rest of the fashionable world, for to these only it was at prefent communicated, Lady Cobham, who now lived at the mansion-house at Stoke-Pogis, had read and admired it. She wished to be acquainted with the author; accordingly her relation Miss Speed and lady Schaub, then at her house, undertook to bring this about by making him the first He happened to be from home, when the Ladies arrived at his Aunt's folitary manfion; and, when he returned, was furprized to find, on one of his papers in the parlour where he usually read, the following note: " Lady Schaub's compliments to G Mr.

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of Mr. Gray; she is forry not to have found him at " home, to tell him that Lady Brown is very well." This necessarily obliged him to return the visit, and foon after induced him to compose a ludicrous account of this little adventure for the amusement of the Ladies in question. He wrote it in balled measure, and entitled it a Long Story: when it was handed about in manuscript, nothing could be more various than the opinions concerning it; by some it was thought a mafter-piece of original humour, by others a wild and fantastic farrago; and when it was published, the fentiments of good judges were equally divided about it. How it came to be printed I shall mention hereafter; and also inform the reader why Mr. Gray rejected it in the collection which he himself made of his Poems: In the meanwhile, as I think it ought to have a place in these Memoirs for reasons too obvious to infift upon, I shall beg leave to preface it with my own idea of the author's peculiar vein of humour; which, with my notes on the piece itself, may perhaps account in fome fort for the variety of opinions which people of acknowledged tafte have formed concerning it.

Mr. Gray had not (in my opinion) either in his conversation or writing much of what is called pure humour; it was always so much blended either with wit, fancy, or his own peculiar character, that it became equivocal, and hence not adapted to please generally: It had more of the manner of Congreve than Addison; and we know where one person relishes my Lady Wishfort, there are thousands that admire Sir Roger de Coverley: It will not however from hence follow, that Lady Wishfort is ill drawn; for my own part I think it, one of the most entertaining

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taining characters that ever was written. I know. however, that it is commonly thought extravagant and unnatural; and I believe it is true, that no woman ever existed that had so much folly and affectation, and at the same time so much wit and fancy; yet every one fees that were this fancy and wit taken away, her character would become infipid, in proportion as it became more natural; fo that, in this and other instances, if Congreve's fools were fools indeed, they would, by being true characters, cease to be entertaining ones. It may be further observed on the fubject of humour, that it may and ought to be divided into feveral species: there is one fort, that of Terence's, which fimply pleafes without forcing a smile; another, like Mr. Addison's, which not only pleases, but makes us smile into the bargain. Shakespeare's, Swift's, Congreve's, and Prior's usually go further, and make us laugh: I infer not from hence that this latter fort is the best: I only affert, that however it may be mixt with other ingredients, it ought also to be called Humour. critic, however, who judges by rule, and who will not be pleased unless legitimately, will be apt to condemn this species of mixt humour; and the common reader will not always have either wit or imagination enough to comprehend or taffe it. But I have faid Mr. Gray not only mixed wit and fancy with his humour, but also his own particular character; and being naturally delicate, and at times even fastidious, his humour generally took the same cast; and would therefore be only relished by such of his friends, who, confcious of his fuperior excellencies, thought this defect not only pardonable but entertaining, which a character of this fort (being humorous in itself) always is, when it is not carried

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carried to any offensive extreme. Yet as this obfervation relates only to his conversation and familiar letters, (for to these only it can be applied) I
have no occasion to insist on it further; and shall
only add, that whatever the generality of readers
may think of Mr. Gray's talent in this way, there
will always be some, and those far from the lowest
class, to whom it will appear excellent: for humour
may be true, when it ceases to be pure or unmixt,
if the ingredients which go to its composition be
true also. False wit and a wild fancy would debase
the best humour in the world, as they frequently do
in Rabelais and Sterne (without taking more exceptionable matters into consideration); but when genuine, they serve to heighten and embellish it.

## A LONG STORY.

IN Britain's ifle, no matter where,

(a) An antient pile of building stands:
The Huntingdons and Hattons there
Employ'd the pow'r of Fairy hands.

To raise the cieling's fretted height, Each pannel in achievements cloathing, Rich windows that exclude the light, And passages, that lead to nothing.

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<sup>(</sup>a) The mansion-house at Stoke-Pogie, then in possession of Viscounters Cobham. The style of building, which we now call Queen Elizabeth's, is here admirably described, both with regard to its beauties and desects; and the third and fourth stanzas delineate the santastic manners of her time with equal truth and humour. The house formerly belonged to the Earls of Huntingdon and the samily of Hatton,

Full oft within the spacious walls, When he had fifty Winters o'er him, (b) My grave Lord Keeper led the brawls; The seal and maces danc'd before him.

His bushy beard, and shoe-strings green, His high-crown'd hat, and sattin doublet, Mov'd the stout heart of England's Queen, Though Pope and Spaniard could not trouble it.

What, in the very first beginning!
Shame of the versifying tribe!
Your hist'ry whither are you spinning!
Can you do nothing but describe?

A house there is (and that's enough)
From whence one fatal morning issues
(c) A brace of warriors, not in buff,
But rustling in their filks and tissues.

The first came cap-a-pee from France, Her conqu'ring destiny sulfilling, Whom meaner beauties eye askance, And vainly ape her art of killing.

The other Amazon kind heav'n Had arm'd with spirit, wit, and satire: But Cobham had the polish giv'n, And tip'd her arrows with good nature.

To celebrate her eyes, her air.

Coarse panegyrics would but teaze her.

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<sup>(</sup>b) Sir Christopher Hatton, promoted by Queen Elizabeth for his graceful person and fine dancing. G.—Brawls were a fort of figure-dance, then in vogue, and probably deemed as elegant as our modern Cotillions, or still more modern Quadrilles.

<sup>(</sup>c) The reader is already apprized who these Ladies were; the two descriptions are prettily contrasted; and nothing can be more happily turned than the compliment to Lady Cobham in the eighth stanza.

Melissa is her Nom de Guerre.

Alas, who would not with to please her !

With bonnet blue and capuchine, And aprons long they hid their armour, And veil'd their weapons bright and keen In pity to the country farmer.

Fame in the shape of (d) Mr. P—t
(By this time all the parish know it)
Had told, that thereabouts there lurk'd
A wicked Imp they call a Poet:

Who prowl'd the country far and near, Bewitch'd the children of the peafants, Dried up the cows, and lam'd the deer, And suck'd the eggs, and kill'd the pheafants.

My Lady heard their joint petition,
Swore by her coronet and ermine,
She'd iffue out her high commission
To rid the manor of such vermin.

The Heroines undertook the task, Thro' lanes unknown, o'er stiles they ventur'd, Rap'd at the door, nor stay'd to ask, But bounce into the parlour enter'd.

The trembling family they daunt,
They flirt, they fing, they laugh, they tattle,
Rummage his Mother, pinch his Aunt,
And up stairs in a whirl-wind rattle.

Each hole and cupboard they explore,
Each creek and cranny of his chamber,
Run hurry-skurry round the floor,
And o'er the bed and tester clamber;

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<sup>(</sup>d) I have been told that this Gentleman, a neighbour and acquaintance of Mr. Gray's in the country, was much displeased at the liberty here taken with his name; yet, surely, without any great reason.

Into the drawers and china pry,
Papers and books, a huge imbroglio!
Under a tea-cup he might lie,
Or creased, like dogs-ears, in a solio.

On the first marching of the troops, The Muses, hopeless of his pardon, Convey'd him underneath their hoops To a small closet in the garden.

So Rumor says: (Who will, believe.)
But that they left the door a-jar,
Where, safe and laughing in his sleeve,
He heard the distant din of war.

Short was his joy. He little knew The pow'r of Magic was no fable; Out of the window, whisk, they slew, (e) But left a spell upon the table.

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(e) Fancy is here so much blended with the humour, that I believe the two stanzas, which succeed this line, are amongst those which are the least relished by the generality. description of the spell, I know, has appeared to many perfons absolutely unintelligible : yet if the reader adverts to that peculiar idea which runs through the whole, I imagine the obscurity complained of will be removed. An incident, we fee, fo flight as the simple matter of fact, required fomething like machinery to enliven it : Accordingly the author chose, with propriety enough, to employ for that purpose those notions of witchcraft, ghosts, and enchantment, which prevailed at the time when the manfion-house was built. He describes himself as a damon of the lowest class, a wicked int who lam'd the deer, &c. sgainst whose malevolent power Lady Cobham (the Gloriana of the piece) employs two superior enchantresses. Congruity of imagery therefore, required the card they left upon the table to be converted into a fpell Now all the old writers, on these subjects, are very minute is describing the materials of such talismans. Hence, there fore, his grotesque idea of a composition of transparent bird

The words too eager to unriddle, The Poet felt a strange disorder: Transparent bird-lime form'd the middle, And chains invisible the border.

So cunning was the Apparatus,
The powerful pot-hooks did so move him,
That, will he, nill he, to the Great-house
He went, as if the Devil drove him.

(f) Yet on his way (no fign of grace, For folks in fear are apt to pray)
To Phoebus he prefer'd his case,
And beg'd his aid that dreadful day.

The Godhead wou'd have back'd his quarrel; But with a blush on recollection, Own'd, that his quiver and his laurel 'Gainst four such eyes were no protection.

lime, edged with invisible chains in order to catch and draw him to the tribunal. Without going further for examples of this kind of imagery than the Poet's own works, let me inflance two passages of the serious kind, similar to this ludicrous one. In his Ode, entitled the Bard,

"Above, below, the rofe of fnow, &c."

And, again, in the Fatal Sifters,

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" See the griefly tenture grow,"

t must, however, be allowed, that no person can fully relish his burlesque, who is not much conversant with the old omance-writers, and with the Poets who formed themselves in their model.

(f) The humour of this and the following stanza is more ure, and consequently more obvious. It might have been witten by Prior, and the wit at the end is much in his best namer.

The Court was fate, the Culprit there,
Forth from their gloomy mansions creeping
(g) The Lady Janes and Joans repair,
And from the gallery stand peeping:
Such as in silence of the night

Come (fweep) along fome winding entry.

(b) (Styack has often feen the fight)

Or at the chapel-door stand centry:

(i) In peaked hoods and mantles tarnish'd, Sour visages, enough to scare ye, High dames of honour once, that garnish'd The drawing room of sierce Queen Mary!

The Peeress comes. The audience stare, And doff their hats with due submission: She curties, as she takes her chair, To all the people of condition.

The Bard with many an artful fib, Had in imagination fenc'd him, Disprov'd the arguments of (k) Squib, And all that (1) Groom could urge against him.

- (g) Here Fancy is again uppermost, and soars as high on her comic, as on another occasion she does on her lyric wing: For now a Chorus of ghostly old women of quality come to give sentence on the culprit Poet, just as the spirits of Cadwallo, Urien, and Hoel join the Bard in dreadful symphony to denounce vengeance on Edward I. The route of Fancy, we see, is the same both on the humorous and sublime occasion. No wonder, therefore, if either of them should fail of being generally tasted.
  - (b) The House-Keeper. G.
- (i) The description is here excellent, and I should think would please universally.
  - (k) Groom of the Chamber. G.
  - (1) The Steward. G.

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But soon his rhetorick forsook him, When he the solemn hall had seen; A sudden sit of ague shook him, He stood as mute as poor (m) Macleane.

Yet something he was heard to mutter,

" How in the Park beneath an old tree

" (Without defign to hurt the butter,

" Or any malice to the poultry,)

" He once or twice had pen'd a fonnet;

"Yet hop'd, that he might fave his bacon:

" Numbers would give their oaths upon it,

"He ne'er was for a conj'rer taken."

The ghoftly prudes with (n) hagged face. Already had condemn'd the finner.

My Lady rose, and with a grace-

(0) She fmil'd, and bid him come to dinner.

(m) A famous Highwayman hanged the week before. G.

This stanza is of the fort where wit rather than fancy prevails, consequently much in Prior's manner.

(n) Hagged, (i. e.) the face of a witch or Hag; the epithet Hagard has been formetimes mistaken, as conveying the same idea; but it means a very different thing, viz. wild and farouche, and is taken from an unreclaimed Hawk, called an Hagard; in which its proper sense the Poet uses it finely on a sublime occasion:

Cloath'd in the fable garb of woe, With hagard eyes the Poet stood.

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Vid. Ode 6th.

(0) Here the story sinishes; the exclamation of the Ghosts which follows is characteristic of the Spanish manners of the ge, when they are supposed to have lived; and the 500 anzas, said to be lost, may be imagined to contain the renainder of their long-winded exposulation.

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" Jesu-Maria! Madam Bridget,

"Why, what can the Viscountess mean? (Cried the square-hoods in woeful fidget)

"The times are altered quite and clean!
"Decorum's turn'd to mere civility;

"Her air and all her manners shew it.

" Commend me to her affability!

"Speak to a Commoner and Poet!"

[Here 500 Stanzas are loft.]

And so God save our noble King,
And guard us from long-winded Lubbers,
That to eternity would sing,
And keep my lady from her Rubbers.

#### LETTER XIV.

Mr. GRAY to Dr. WHARTON.

Dec. 17, 1750.

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OF my house I cannot say much \*, I wish I could; but for my heart it is no less yours than it has long been; and the last thing in the world that will throw it into tumults is a fine Lady. The verses, you so kindly try to keep in countenance, were written merely to divert Lady Cobham and her samily, and succeeded accordingly; but being shewed about in town are not liked there at all. Mrs. \* \* \*, a very sashionable personage, told Mr. Walpole that she had seen a thing by a friend

<sup>\*</sup> The house he was rebuilding in Cornhill. See Letter VII, of this Section.

of his which she did not know what to make of, for it aimed at every thing, and meant nothing ; to which he replied, that he had always taken her for a woman of fense, and was very forry to be undeceived. On the other hand, the stanzas \* which I now enclose to you have had the misfortune, by Mr. Walpole's fault, to be made still more public, for which they certainly were never meant : but it is too late to complain. They have been fo applauded, it is quite a shame to repeat it : I mean not to be modest; but it is a shame for those who have faid fuch superlative things about them; that I cannot repeat them. I should have been glad that you and two or three more people had liked them, which would have fatisfied my ambition on this head amply. I have been this month in town, not at Newcastle-House; but diverting myself among my gay acquaintance, and return to my cell with fo much the more pleasure. I dare not speak of my future excursion to Durham for fear of a disappointment, but at prefent it is my full intention.

#### LETTER XV.

# Mr. GRAY to Mr. WALPOLE

Cambridge, Feb. 11, 1751.

A S you have brought me into a little fort of distress, you must assist me, I believe, to get out of it as well as I can. Yesterday I had the misfortune of receiving a letter from certain gentlemen

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<sup>\*</sup> Elegy in a Country Church Yard.

(as their bookseller expresses it), who have taken the Magazine of Magazines into their hands. They tell me that an ingenious Poem, called Reflections in a Country Church-Yard, has been communicated to them, which they are printing forthwith; that they are informed that the excellent author of it is I by name, and that they beg not only his indulgence, but the benour of his correspondence, &c. As I am not at all disposed to be either so indulgent, or so correspondent, as they desire, I have but one bad way left to escape the honour they would inflict upon me; and therefore am obliged to desire you would make Dodsley print it immediately (which may be done in less than a week's time) from your copy, but without my name, in what form is most convenient for him, but on his best paper and character; he must correct the press himself, and print it without any interval between the stanzas, because the fense is in some places continued beyond them; and the title must be, - Elegy, written in a Country Church-Yard. If he would add a line or two to fay it came into his hands by accident, I should like it better. If you behold the Magazine of Magazines in the light that I do, you will not refuse to give yourself this trouble on my account, which you have staken of your own accord before now. If Dodsley do not do this immediately, he may as well let it alone.

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#### LETTER XVI.

## Mr. GRAY to Dr. WHARTON.

Dec. 19, 1752.

HAVE you read Madame de Maintenon's letters? They are undoubtedly genuine; they begin very early in her life, before she married Scarron, and continue after the king's death to within a little while of her own : they bear all the marks of a noble spirit (in her adversity particularly) of virtue and unaffected devotion; infomuch, that I am almost perfuaded she was actually married to Lewis the XIV, and never his Mistress: and this not out of any policy or ambition, but conscience: for she was what we should call a bigot, yet with great good fense: In short, she was too good for a court. Misfortunes in the beginning of her life had formed her mind (naturally lively and impatient) to reflection and a habit of piety. She was always miserable while she had the care of Madame de Montespan's children; timid and very cautious of making use of that unlimited power she rose to afterwards, for fear of trespassing on the king's friendship for her; and after his death not at all afraid of meeting her own.

I do not know what to fay to you with regard to Racine : it founds to me as if any body should fall upon Shakespeare, who indeed lies infinitely more open to criticism of all kinds; but I should not care to be the person that undertook it. If you do not like Athaliah or Britannicus, there is no more to be

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Bishop

Bishop Hall's satires, called Virgidemiæ, are lately republished. They are full of spirit and poetry; as much of the first as Dr. Donne, and far more of the latter: they were written at the university when he was about twenty-three years old, and in Queen Elizabeth's time.

You do not say whether you have read the Crito\*
I only recommend the dramatic part of the Phædo
to you, not the argumentative. The subject of the
Erastæ is good; it treats of that peculiar character
and turn of mind which belongs to a true philosopher,
but it is shorter than one would wish. The Euthyphro I would not read at all.

## LETTER XVII.

#### Mr. GRAY to Mr. WALPOLE,

Stoke, Jan. 1753.

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Am at present at Stoke, to which place I came at half an hour's warning upon the news I received of my mother's illness, and did not expect to have found her alive; but when I arrived she was much better, and continues so. I shall therefore be very glad to make you a visit at Strawberry-Hill, whenever you give me notice of a convenient time. I am surprized at the print †; which far surpasses my

<sup>\*</sup> Of Plato.

A proof print of the Cul de Lampe which Mr. Bentley designed for the Elegy in a country church-yard, and which represents a village-funeral; this occasioned the pleasant mistake

my idea of London graving: The drawing it was so finished, that I suppose it did not require all the art I had imagined to copy it tolerably. My aunts feeing me open your letter, took it to be a buryingticket, and asked whether any body had left me a ring; and fo they fill conceive it to be, even with all their spectacles on. Heaven forbid they should fuspect it to belong to any verses of mine, they would burn me for a poet. On my own part I am fatisfied, if this design of yours succeed so well as you intend it; and yet I know it will be accompanied with something not at all agreeable to me .-While I write this, I receive your fecond letter .-Sure, you are not out of your wits! This I know, if you suffer my head to be printed, you will infallibly put me out of mine. I conjure you immediately to put a stop to any fuch design. Who is at the expence of engraving it, I know not; but if it be Dodsley, I will make up the loss to him. The thing as it was, I know, will make me ridiculous enough; but to appear in proper person, at the head of my works, confifting of half a dozen ballads in thirty pages, would be worfe than the pillory. I do affure you, if I had received fuch a book, with fuch a fron-

take of his two aunts. The remainder of the letter relates entirely to the projected publication of Mr. Bentley's defigns, which were printed after by Dodfley this fame year. The latter part of it, where he so vehemently declares against having his head prefixt to that work, will appear highly characteristical to those readers, who were personally acquainted with Mr. Gray. The print, which was taken from an original picture, painted by Echart, in Mr. Walpole's possession, was actually more than half engraved; but afterwards on this account suppressed.

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tispiece, without any warning, I believe it would have given me a palfy: Therefore I rejoice to have received this notice, and shall not be easy till you tell me all thoughts of it are laid aside. I am extremely in earnest, and cannot bear even the idea.

I had written to Dodsley if I had not received yours, to tell him how little I liked the title which he meant to prefix; but your letter has put all that out of my head. If you think it necessary to print these explanations \* for the use of people that have no eyes, I should be glad they were a little altered. I am, to my shame, in your debt for a long letter; but I cannot think of any thing else till you have set me at ease on this matter.

While Mr. Bentley was employed in making the Designs mentioned in the preceding letter, Mr. Gray, who greatly admired not only the elegance of his fancy, but also the neatness as well as facility of his execution, began a complimentary poem to him, which I shall now insert. Many readers will perhaps think the panegyric carried too far; as I own I did when he first shewed it me. Yet it is but justice to declare, that the original drawings, now in Mr. Walpole's possession, which I have since seen, are so infinitely superior to the published engravings of them, that a person, who has only seen the latter, can by no means judge of the excellencies of the former: Besides, there is so much of grotesque fancy

<sup>\*</sup> See the above-mentioned Defigns, where the explana-

in the Designs themselves, that it can be no great matter of wonder (even if the engravers had done justice to them) that they failed to please universally. What I have faid in defence of the Long Story might easily be applied to these productions of the fifter art : But not to detain the reader from the perufal of a fragment, many stanzas of which are equal in poetical merit to the best in his most finished poems, I shall here only add that it was for the sake of the Design which Mr. Bentley made for the Long Story. that Mr. Gray permitted it to be printed; yet not without clearly foreseeing that he risked somewhat by the publication of it, as he intimates in the preceding letter: and indeed the event shewed his judgment to be true in this particular, as it proved the least popular of all his productions.

### STANZAS to Mr. BENTLEY.

I N filent gaze the tuneful choir among, Half pleas'd, half bluthing let the muse admire, While Bentley leads her fifter-art along, And bids the pencil answer to the lyre. See, in their course, each transitory thought Fix'd by his touch a lafting effence take : Each dream, in fancy's airy colouring wrought, To local Symmetry and life awake! The tardy rhymes that us'd to linger on. To censure cold, and negligent of fame, In swifter measures animated run, And catch a luftre from his genuine flame. yan Baltarini aldı or mena Karratto başını

Ah! could they catch his strength, his eafy grace, His quick creation, his unerring line; The energy of Pope they might efface, And Dryden's harmony submit to mine. But not to one in this benighted age Is that diviner inspiration giv'n, That burns in Shakespeare's or in Milton's page, The pomp and prodigality of heav'n. As when conspiring in the diamond's blaze, The meaner gems, that fingly charm the fight, Together dart their intermingled rays. And dazzle with a luxury of light. \* Enough for me, if to some feeling breaft My lines a fecret fympathy impart; And as their pleasing influence flows confest. A figh of fost reflection beave the heart.

In the March following Mr. Gray lost that Mother for whom, on all occasions, we have seen he shewed so tender a regard. She was buried in the same vault where her sister's remains had been deposited more than three years before. As the inscription on the tomb-stone (at least the latter part of it) is undoubtedly of Mr. Gray's writing, it here would claim a

<sup>\*</sup> A corner of the only manuscript copy, which Mr. Gray left of this fragment, is unfortunately torn; and though I have endeavoured to supply the chasm, I am not quite latissied with the words which I have inserted in the third line. I print my sadditions in italies, and shall be much pleased if any reader finds a better supplement to this impersect stanza.

place, even if it had not a peculiar pathos to recommend it, and, at the fame time, a true inscriptive simplicity.

IN THE VAULT BENEATH ARE DEPOSITED,

IN HOPE OF A JOYFUL RESURRECTION,

THE REMAINS OF

MARY ANTROBUS.

SHEDIED, UNIMARRIED, NOV. V. M.DCCXLEX.

BESIDE HER FRIEND AND SISTER,

HERE SLEEP THE REMAINS OF

DOROTHY GRAY,

WIDOW, THE CAREFUL TENDER MOTHER OF MANY CHILDREN, ONE OF WHOM ALONE HAD THE MISFORT UNE TO SURVIVE HER.

SHE DIED MARCH XI. MDCCLIII.

AGED LXVII.

### LETTER XVIII.

Mr. GRAY to Mr. MASON.

Durham, Dec. 26, 1753.

Little while before I received your melancholy A letter, I had been informed by Mr. Charles Avison of one of the sad events you mention \*. I know what it is to lose persons that one's eyes and heart have long been used to; and I never defire to part with the remembrance of that lofs, nor would wish you should. It is something that you had a little time to acquaint yourfelf with the idea beforehand; and that your Father suffered but little pain, the only thing that makes death terrible. After I have faid this, I cannot help expressing my furprize at the disposition he has made of his affairs. I must (if you will suffer me to say so) call it great weakness; and yet perhaps your affliction for him is heightened by that very weakness; for I know it is possible to feel an additional forrow for the faults of those we have loved, even where that fault has been greatly injurious to ourselves .- Let me defire you not to expose yourself to any further danger in the midst of that scene of sickness and death; but withdraw as foon as possible to fome place at a little distance in the country; for I do not, in the least, Tike the fituation you are in. I do not attempt to confole you on the fituation your fortune is

<sup>\*</sup> The death of my Father, and of Dr. Marmaduke Pricket, a young Physician of my own age, with whom I was brought up from infancy, who died of the same infectious fever.

left in; if it were far worse, the good opinion I have of you tells me, you will never the sooner do any thing mean or unworthy of yourself; and consequently I cannot pity you on this account, but I sincerely do on the new loss you have had of a good and friendly man, whose memory I honour. I have seen the scene you describe, and know how dreadful it is: I know too I am the better for it. We are all idle and thoughtless things, and have no sense, no use in the world any longer than that sad impression lasts; the deeper it is engraved the better.

#### LETTER XIX.

#### Mr. GRAY to Dr. WHARTON:

Stoke, Sept. 18, 17542 Am glad you enter into the spirit of Strawberry 1 Caftle; it has a purity and propriety of Gothicism in it (with very few exceptions) that I have not feen elsewhere. My Lord Radnor's vagaries I see did not keep you from doing justice to his fituation, which far furpaffes every thing near it; and I do not know a more laughing scene than that about Twickenham and Richmond. Dr. Akenside, I perceive, is no conjurer in architecture; especially when he talks of the ruins of Persepolis, which are no more Gothic than they are Chinese. The Egyptian style (see Dr. Pococke, not his discourses but his prints) was apparently the mother of the Greek; and there is fuch a fimilitude between the Egyptian and those Persian ruins, as gave Diodorus room to affirm, that: the old buildings of Persia were certainly performed by

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by Egyptian artists: As to the other part of your friend's opinion, that the Gothic manner is the Saracen or Moorish, he has a great authority to support him, that of Sir Christopher Wren ; and get I cannot help thinking it undoubtedly wrong. The palaces in Spain I never saw but in description, which gives us little or no idea of things; but the Doge's palace at Venice I have feen, which is in the Arabefque manner: And the houses of Barbary you may see in Dr. Shaw's book, not to mention abundance of other Eastern buildings in Turkey, Perfia, &c. that we have views of; and they feem plainly to be corruptions of the Greek architecture, broke into little parts indeed, and covered with little ornaments, but in a tafte very diffinguishable from that which we call Gothic. There is one thing that runs through the Moorish buildings that an imitator would certainly have been first struck with, and would have tried to copy; and that is the cupolas which cover everything, baths, apartments, and even kirchens : ver who ever faw a Gothic oupola? It is a thing plainty of Greek original. I do not fee any thing but the flender fpires that ferve for fteeples, which may perhaps be borrowed from the Saracen minarets on their mosques.

I take it ill you should fay any thing against the Mole, it is a reflexion I see east at the Thames. Do you think that rivers, which have lived in London and its neighbourhood all their days, will run roaring and tumbling about like your tramontane torrents in the North? No, they only glide and whis-

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### LETTER XX.

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#### Mr. GRAY to Dr. WHARTON.

Cambridge, March 9, 1755.

I Do not pretend to humble any one's pride; I love my own too well to attempt it. As to mortifying their vanity, it is too eafy and too mean a talk for me to delight in. You are very good in shewing so much sensibility on my account; but be affured my traste for praise is not like that of children for fruit; if there were nothing but mediars and black-berries in the world, I could be very well content to go without any at all. I dare say that Mason, though some years younger than I, was as fittle elevated with the approbation of Lord\* and Lord\*, as I am mortified by their silence.

With regard to publishing, I am not so much against the thing itself as of publishing this Ode alone. I have two or three more ideas in my head; what is to come of them? Must they too come out in the shape of little supenny slams, dropping one after another till Mr. Dodsey thinks sit to collect them with Mr. This's Song, and Mr. Tother's Epigram, into a pretty volume? I am sure Mason must be sensible of this, and therefore cannot mean what he says; neither am I quite of your opinion with regard to strophe and antistrophe?;

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<sup>\*</sup> His Ode on the progress of Poetry.

He often made the same remark to me in conversation, which led me to form the last Ode of Caractacus in shorter

fetting afide the difficulty of execution, methinks it has little or no effect on the ear, which scarce perceives the regular return of metres at so great a distance from one another: to make it succeed, I am persuaded the stanzas must not consist of above nine lines each at the most. Pindar has several such Odes.

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Mr. Gray intimates, in the foregoing letter, that he had two or three more lyrical ideas in his head: One of these was the BARD, the exordium of which was at this time finished; I say finished, because his conceptions, as well as his manner of disposing them, were so singularly exact, that he had seldom occasion to make many, except verbal emendations, after he had first committed his lines to paper. It

ftanzas : But we must not imagine that he thought the regular Pindaric method without its use; though, as he justly fays, when formed in long stanzas, it does not fully succeed in point of effect on the ear : For there was nothing which he more diffiked than that chain of irregular stanzas which Cowley introduced, and falfely called Pindaric; and which from the extreme facility of execution produced a number of miferable imitators. Had the regular return of Strophe, Antistrophe, and Epode no other merit than that of extreme difficulty, it ought, on this very account, to be valued: because we well know that " Easy writing is no easy reading." It is also to be remarked, that Mr. Congreve, who (though without any lyrical powers) first introduced the regular Pindaric form into the English language, made use of the short Stanzas which Mr. Gray here recommends. See his Ode to the Queen; Works, vol. III, p. 438, Ed. Birm.

was never his method to sketch his general design in careless verse \*, he always finished as he proceeded; this,

I have many of his critical letters by me on my own compositions: Letters, which, though they would not amuse the public in general, contain excellent lessons for young poets, from one of these I extract the following passage, which seems to explain this matter more fully: " Extreme concileness of " expression, yet pure, perspicuous, and musical, is one of the " grand beauties of lyric poetry: This I have always aimed " at, and never could attain. The necessity of rhyming is one " great obstacle to it : Another, and perhaps a stronger, is " that way you have chosen, of casting down your first " thoughts carelessly and at large, and then clipping them " here and there at leisure. This method, after all possible " pains, will leave behind it a laxity, a diffuseness. The frame of a thought (otherwise well-invented, well-turned,. " and well-placed) is often weakened by it. Do I talk non-" sense? Or do you understand me? I am persuaded what I " fay is true in my head, whatever it may be in profe; for " I do not pretend to write prose." Nothing can be more just than this remark: Yet, as I say above, it is a mode of writing which is only calculated for smaller compositions: But Mr. Gray, though he applied it here to an Ode, was apt to think it a general rule. Now if an epic or dramatic poet was to resolve to finish every part of his work as highly as we have seen Mr. Gray laboured his first scene of Agrippina, I am apt to think he would tire of it as foon as he did; for in the course of so multifarious a work, he would find himself obliged to expunge some of the best written parts, in order to preserve the unity of the whole. I know only one way to prevent this, and that was the method which Racine followed; who (as his fon tells us, in that amusing life, though much zested with bigotry, which he has given us of his father) when he began a drama, disposed every part of it accurately in profe; and when he had connected all the scenes together, used to say, " Ma Tragedie est faite." (See La vie de Jean Racine, p. 117. See also his son's other works, tom. 2d, for a specimen in a first act of the Iphigenia in Tauris.) M. Racine.

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this tho' it made his execution flow, made his compositions more perfect. I think, however, that this method was only calculated to produce fuch short works as generally employed his poetical pen: and that from pursuing it, he grew tired of his larger defigns before he had completed them. The fact feems to justify my opinion. principal reason for mentioning this at present. is to explain the canferwhy I have not been forupulous in publishing so many of his fragments in the course of these memoirs. It would have been unpardonable in me to have taken this liberty with a deceased friend, had I not found his lines, as far as they went, nearly as high finished as they would have been, when completed: if I am mistaken in this, I hope the reader will rather impute it to a defeet in my own Judgment, than a want of respect to Mr. Gray's Memory.

This confideration, however, emboldens me to print the following fragment of an Ode in this place, which was unquestionably another of the ideas, alduded to in the preceding letter: fince I find in his memorandum-book, of the preceding year 1734, a sketch of his design as follows: "Contrast between the winter past and coming spring.—Joy owing to that vicissitude—many who never feel that desight.—Sloth:—Envy.—Ambition. How much

M. Racine, it is seems, was an easy verifier in a language in which, they say, it is more difficult than in ours to verify.

It certainly is so with regard to dramatic compositions. Lam on this account persuaded, that if the great Poet had written in English, he would have drawn out his first sketches, not in prose, but in eareless blank werse; yet this Legive as mere matter of opinion.

"happier the rustic who feels it, tho he knows not how." I print this careless note, in order that the reader may conceive the intended arrangement of the whole; who, I doubt not, will, on perusing the following beautiful stanzas, lament with me that he left it incomplete; nor will it confole him for the loss, if I tell him that I have had the boldness to attempt to finish it myself, making use of some other lines and broken stanzas which he had written: But as my aim in undertaking this difficult task was merely to elucidate the Poet's general meaning, I do not think that my additions are worthy to be inserted in this place; they will find a more fit situation if thrown amongst those notes which I shall put at the end of his Poems.

# O D E.

Waves her dew-bespangled wing,
With vermil cheek, and whisper soft
She wooes the tardy Spring:
Till April starts, and calls around
The sleeping fragrance from the ground;
And lightly over the living scene
Scatters his freshest, tenderest green.

New-born flocks, in rustic dance, Frisking ply their feeble feet; Forgetful of their wintry trance The birds his presence greet: But chief, the Sky-Lark warbles high His trembling thrilling extacy;

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And, lessening from the dazzled fight, Melts into air and liquid light.

Yesterday the sullen year
Saw the snowy whirlwind fly;
Mute was the music of the air,
The herd stood drooping by:
Their raptures now that wildly flow,
No yesterday, nor morrow know;
'Tis man alone that joy descries
With sorward, and reverted eyes.

Smiles on past Misfortune's brow,
Soft Reslection's hand can trace;
And o'er the cheek of Sorrow throw
A melancholy grace:
While Hope prolongs our happier hour;
Or deepest shades that dimly lower
And blacken round our weary way,
Gilds with a gleam of distant day.

Still, where rosy Pleasure leads,
See a kindred Grief pursue;
Behind the steps that Misery treads
Approaching Comfort view:
The hues of bliss more brightly glow,
Chastis'd by sabler tints of woe;
And blended form, with artful strife,
The strength and harmony of life.

See the Wretch, that long has tost On the thorny bed of pain, At length repair his vigour lost, And breathe, and walk again: do

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The meanest floweret of the vale, The simplest note that swells the gale, The common sun, the air, the skies, To Him are opening Paradise.

A third of these ideas I find in his common-place book, on the same page with his argument for the BARD\*. I do not believe that he ever even began to compose the Ode itself; but the thought is as sollows:

"All that men of power can do for men of genius is to leave them at their liberty, compared to birds that, when confined to a cage, do but regret the loss of their freedom in melancholy strains, and lose the luscious wildness and happy luxuriance of their notes, which used to make the woods resound."

Those who are conversant in the arrangement of a lyrical composition, will easily perceive, from this short argument, that the Ode would have opened with the simile; which, when adorned with those thoughts that breathe and words that burn, that Mr. Gray's muse could so richly supply, would have been at once a fine exordium, and at the same time a natural introduction to the truth he meant to impress. This, however, could hardly have been done without some little aid borrowed from satire:

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<sup>\*</sup> I shall insert this, with some remarks upon it, in my additional notes to his Poems.

For however true his proposition may be, that "all that men of power could do for men of genius is to leave them at their liberty;" or, as I should put it, "that their best patronage signifies nothing if it abridges them of that liberty;" yet the fact is, that neither of the parties are convinced of this truth till they have tried the experiment, and find some reason or other (no matter whether good or bad) to think they had better never have tried it. Mons. d'Alembert, who has written an excellent essay on this subject, which Mr. Gray greatly admired, and which perhaps gave him the first idea of this intended Ode, puts one of the more common of these reasons in so lively a manner, that it may not be amiss here to insert it.

amiss here to insert it.

"Parmi les grands Seigneurs les plus affables il en est peu qui se depouillent avec des Gens de lettres de leur grandeur, vraie ou pretendue, jusqu' au point de l'oublier tout-a-fait. C'est ce qu'on apperçoit sur tout dans les conversations, où l'on n'est pas de leur avis. Il semble qu'a mesure que l'Homme d'Esprit s'eclipse, l'Homme de Qualité se montre; et paroisse exiger la deserence d'ont l'Homme d'Esprit avoit commence par dispenser.

"Aussi le commerce intime des Grands avec les Gens de lettres ne finit que trop souvent par quelque rupture eclatante; rupture qui vient presque toujours de l'oubli des regards reciproques auxquelles on a manquè de part ou d'autre, peut etre même des deux côtés." However, l

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<sup>\*</sup> Essai sur la Societé des Grands, avec les Gens de Lettres; "Melanges de Litterature & Philosophie," tom. 2d, p. 134

think a man of letters ought to have other reasons. besides this for breaking such a connection after it has been once formed.

I have now given the reader the best account in my power of what our Author's unfinished lyrical ideas consisted: I believe they are all that he in any fort committed to paper, and probably those which he immediately alluded to in the preceding letter.

#### LETTER XXI

## Mr. GRAY to Mr. STONHEWER.\*

August 21, 1755.

I Thank you for your intelligence about Herculaneum, which was the first news I received of it. I have since turned over Monsignor Baiardi's book t,

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\* Now Auditor of Excise. His friendship with Mr. Gray commenced at College, and continued till the death of the latter.

† I believe the book here ridiculed was published by the Authority of the King of Naples. But afterwards, on finding how ill qualified the Author was to execute the task, the business of describing the Antiquities found at Herculaneum was put into other hands; who have certainly, as far as they have gone, performed it much better.

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where I have learned how many grains of modern wheat the Roman Congius, in the Capitol, holds. and how many thousandth parts of an inch the Greek foot consisted of more (or less, for I forget which) than our own. He proves also by many affecting examples, that an antiquary may be mistaken: That, for any thing any body knows, this place under ground might be some other place, and not Herculaneum; but nevertheless, that he can shew for certain, that it was this place and no other place; that it is hard to fay which of the feveral Hercules's was the founder: therefore (in the third volume) he promifes to give us the memoirs of them all: and after that, if we do not know what to think of the matter, he will tell us. There is a great deal of wit too, and fatire and verses, in the book, which is intended chiefly for the information of the French King, who will be greatly edified without doubt.

I am much obliged to you also for Voltaire's performance; it is very unequal, as he is apt to be in all but his dramas, and looks like the work of a man that will admire his retreat and his Leman-Lake no longer than till he finds an opportunity to leave it \*: However, though there be many parts which I do not like, yet it is in several places excellent, and every where above mediocrity. As you have the

<sup>\*</sup> I do not recollect the title of this Poem, but it was a small one which M. de Voltaire wrote when he first settled at Ferney. By the long residence he has since made there, it appears either that our Author was mistaken in his conjecture, or that an opportunity of leaving it had not yet happened.

politeness to pretend impatience, and desire I would communicate, and all that, I annex a piece of the Prophecy +; which must be true at least, as it was wrote so many hundred years after the events.

† The second Antistrophe and Epode, with a few lines of the third Strophe of his Ode, entitled the Bard, were here inserted.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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